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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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10 February 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SPILJAK CABLE TO CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania: On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and on my own behalf, I want to express cordial thanks for the congratulations and good wishes extended on our republic's day. Recalling with satisfaction our recent meeting in Bucharest, I want to take this opportunity to stress my conviction that Romanian-Yugoslav relations of friendship and multifaceted cooperation between our two neighboring socialist countries will continue to develop successfully, which is in the lasting mutual interests of our two peoples and serves understanding and cooperation on an equal footing in Europe and, on a larger scale, in the world. Mika Spiljak, president of the SFRY Presidency. [Text] [AU031110 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Dec 83 p 6]

CSO: 2700/115

OBJECTIVES OF NEW OFFICER TRAINING PROGRAM OUTLINED

East Berlin BAUERN-ECHO in German 17 Aug 83 p 6

[Article by Maj Gen Werner Otto, chief, Schools and Advanced Training Administration in the Ministry for National Defense: "Lieutenants With Diploma"]

[Text] A new era in the training of career officers will start on 1 September 1983 at the NVA officer training academies, the officer training academy of the GDR Border Troops and at the Civil Defense Institute. From that day on, graduates of the 4-year resident course, which will result in receiving a lieutenant's commission has in the past, will also receive a diploma for having completed undergraduate studies in a branch of science.

In accordance with the class mission of the Tenth SED Party Conference and with the decision of the Politburo SED Central Committee of 18 March 1980 concerning "Tasks of the universities and colleges in developed socialist society," new objectives were considered in the curriculum planning of military academic institutions. They included the following:

--the increasing significance of science and education in socialist society and the military, and

--the socialist armed forces' responsibility for the protection of socialism and the preservation of peace.

The officer corps has a great responsibility for the continuous growth of combat efficiency and combat readiness of our armed forces. The graduate must therefore be so solidly trained that he can be assigned immediately and that he is able to continue his education independently after he finishes his training.

The graduates of the 1980's will serve as commanders, political and staff officers in battalions, regiments and task forces during the 1990's and beyond. A forecast of that era and the demands which are likely to be made on officers within the next 10-20 years were additional reasons for modifications in the training and continuing education of officers.

The Four-Year Officer Training With Diploma

Based on experience made with officer training to date, an effective communist education is provided in the military academies, which directly continues education process of socialist youth. It results in forming and strengthening stable socialist basic principles and politically moral motives for a conscientious military sense of duty. This requires primarily a thorough teaching and comprehension of Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class. By studying it, the cadres are prepared ideologically, pedagogically and psychologically to implement the unity of political and military leadership under all conditions of military life, in their capacity as superiors, educators and instructors.

In military and military-technical training, the provision of a balanced relationship between general and technical training guarantees the teaching and comprehension of general knowledge based on theory, as well as of special capabilities and competencies.

Basic education in the mathematical-natural sciences and engineering fields is oriented toward the standard curriculum as well as toward greater military requirements.

By making use of previously acquired knowledge, foreign language training imparts an expandable general and military basic capability; in specialized training there are exercises in special area language situations.

Among other things, this requires that problem recognition and problem solving are placed into the focal point of the training program to a greater extent than to date. This is intended to promote greater independence of the trainees and to enable them to use their acquired knowledge in a flexible and creative manner.

Education and Research

By implementing the unity of education and research, the scientific potential of all military academies is being systematically enlarged. Research is increasingly directed toward the subject matter of the instruction and other problems of the NVA. Officer candidates and officers undergoing continued education are increasingly becoming involved in research tasks.

The new curricula and programs as well as other measures which were implemented during a prolonged period of preparation have created a solid base for guaranteeing a new quality in education and training. The curricula and programs contain longer-term solutions for education and training, but at the same time have enough flexibility to be able to react in a timely fashion to evolutionary changes in military matters.

It is the mission of the military academies to qualify its graduates to be versatile in their role as career officers and to develop in them capabilities which will enable them to satisfy all occupational demands and thus all military contingencies.

Obtaining a diploma at military academies does not preclude that, in case of assignment to staff or specialist positions, some officers undergo additional military or academic training or that, if necessary, officers must attend specialized training courses. However, the value of the education received at military academies consists of the fact that all subsequent training can be based on more comprehensive basic knowledge and more thorough specialist training of officers and that such subsequent training can make greater demands on their knowledge and competence. The system of continuing education provides for the entire officer corps great opportunities for acquiring comprehensive knowledge, capabilities and competences in the social and military sciences and in various specialties.

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PRIVATE ENTERPRISE SUPPORTED, GROWTH ADVOCATED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 12, 1983 pp 34-41

[Article by Dr Laszlo Kahulits, professor of Political College: "The Situation of Private Ownership in Our Society"]

[Text] Socialist society means the same as the denial of all forms of exploitation, the rule of social ownership conditions in production, and fulfillment of personal ownership in the individual's life, first of all in consumption. For a long time that assumption had also lived in us that the complete triumph of socialism, its healthy operation and growth go together with the elimination of all forms of private ownership. Because of this, we have often forced the private enterprises out with political and administrative means even from those areas where we were unable to replace their activities or could replace them only at great cost to society, and in any case in these areas we did a worse job satisfying the demands. For over 25 years the recognition has become clear in our country that besides the ruling role of socialist ownership, private production in industry, agriculture, and in the area of services as well as in the retail trade can also usefully serve the fulfillment of society's needs as well as the building of socialism.

Independently from socio-political concepts and value judgments, it is a fact that private ownership conditions do exist to a greater or lesser extent in the socialist countries. Most of these operate legally, while there are also illegal ones in some areas.

Ratio of the privately owned sector in some socialist countries* in 1978

<u>Countries</u>	<u>Small industry's production in the total production</u>	<u>Output of the retail merchandise producing agriculture's production in total production</u>	<u>Retail sales as percentage of the total sales</u>
Bulgaria	0.2	0.2	--
Hungary	0.6	3.8	0.7
GDR	2.3	4.3	12.0
Cuba	--	24.5	--

*National economy of the CEMA member countries. Statistical Data Collection, Bp 1979, pp 57-58.

Mongolia	--	0.1	--
Poland	1.8	77.3	1.3
Romania	0.2	12.1	--
Czechoslovakia	--	3.0	--

These rations were also valid in previous years as well. As one can see, significant private sector still exists in some countries in agriculture. Statistics about the Soviet Union no longer show a measurable ration, but even there private ownership does legally exist in industry, in agriculture and in the area of services. The Soviet Union's new constitution declares: "Private work activity is permitted in the Soviet Union by law in small scale industry, in agriculture, and in services; also permitted are other types of activities based exclusively on the individual work of citizens and members of their family."

In our country the ratio of production based on private ownership has increased somewhat in the last few years but its weight continues to remain low. Of the active wage earners 3.3 percent were small scale merchandise producers or retailers in 1970, and 3.6 percent in 1981. Their ratio in producing the national income has increased from 2.6 to 3.7 percent. Private producers operated on 1.1 percent of the total agricultural land acreage in 1982. The number of small tradesmen increased from 84,000 in 1975 to 121,000 in 1982, of private retailers from 10,000 in 1970 to 16,000 in 1982. These are of course the data on those who conduct their basic activity under private ownership conditions.

This ratio of small scale merchandise production and retail selling is the result of the MSZMP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] consistent economic policy. Even though there were periods of time during the last two decades when private activity temporarily decreased and then received support again, due to conditions which triggered contradictions, extremist tendencies did also prevail at times. But for almost a decade now our relationship with private production and commerce has been a balanced one. Small industry and the retail trade have grown as a result of this. The Central Committee defined this clearly in its April 1983 resolution: "To ensure the primary and definitive role of the state operated enterprises and cooperatives, we will continue to support in the future also the small scale industry and retail sales in fulfilling the population's needs, as well as the small enterprises and work co-operatives which open up additional resources in the productive activity."

Broad strata of the population feel directly the positive effects of the expansion of the small scale industry and retail sales in supply, but property accumulation and speculation can also be seen here and there. This is why the following questions are being asked again and again: Is the maintenance of private ownership necessary in the present and future growth of socialism? Does private ownership hinder the growth of socialism, does it lead to the renewal of exploitation? Can it be guaranteed that incomes proportional to the work done be generated also in the private economy?

The role of ownership conditions is to provide a rational format, a framework for the efficient operation of the productive forces, and to make the optimum

fulfillment of the needs necessary. Therefore maintaining economic operation by private ownership in our country is on the one hand related to the way the productive forces and needs have developed, and on the other hand it is also a function of the way the productive forces operate in the concrete system of the socialist social ownership conditions.

We had some illusions in an earlier stage of building the socialism, according to which we can in all areas base the productive forces on modern technology within a short time. And it follows directly from this that in the interest of efficient economic operation it is expedient to create large, concentrated facilities. It is clear today that the productive forces grow differently in the various areas, and they can not even be developed at the same rate. It is therefore clear that the application of modern technology has not been solved either in the area of services or in certain agricultural and industrial activities. Water faucets have to be repaired with individual tools and by individual work, a significant portion of industrial arts creations is also tied to individuals, and also the production of certain fruits is done most expeditiously by traditional tools and methods.

Even though certain activities could be mechanized, this would still involve costs so large that even countries better developed than ours could not afford it. There exist automated kitchens and service robots, but their wide use will have to wait for a long time. Some of the population's needs also require individual work. Making so-called custom size shoes, clothes and other individual equipment is done most expeditiously by the work of master craftsmen. Personal contact and confidence are often of primary concern in the areas of body care (hairdressers, cosmetics, dentistry, etc).

The method of fulfilling certain needs depends also on the volume in which these appear. The characteristic fact that a significant portion of the population lives in small settlements, little villages, is present to a particularly large extent in our country. It is therefore not practical to set up repair and service operations here. On the other hand the facilities of the population centers can be made use of only by travel or transportation, which means extra expense for the individual as well as for society. In many cases the rational thing is for a hair dresser, shoe maker, or freight hauler to operate in the small settlements, at times not even on the full time basis but in addition to some other activity (agriculture, administrative work, etc).

Thus all these objective conditions justify filling the needs in these areas by means and under conditions which can be individually exercised. That is, private production and service are reasonable and necessary also under our circumstances. Our negative experiences gathered in the area of services prove that even though concentrated repair enterprises can be set up for the population, in many areas these are not practical. They unjustifiably increase the costs, are inflexible, and this is also the reason for their failure to grow properly. That is, under such conditions and with such needs, individual production is cheaper and more flexible. By the way, even Lenin has called attention to this. "The advantage of the large agricultural operation over the small operation is unavoidable--but obviously only 'under otherwise equal circumstances....' That is, the law of the large operation's superiority even

in industry is not as absolute and simple as it is thought to be at times; even there 'only the equality of other circumstances' (which even in reality does not always exist) guarantees full applicability of the law." (Comprehensive Works of Lenin, Vol 4, Kossuth Book Publishers, 1964 p 101)

There are also subjective reasons for maintaining the private ownership situation in our country. These are connected in part with the shortcomings of social production, and in part with the minds and habits of people. In socialism, society consciously shapes the decisive majority of the ownership circumstances. But if this consciousness is not of the proper quality, then even the individual formats of ownership do not conform to the constantly changing production forces. In the state operated and cooperative sectors we have hardly set up any small enterprises or small cooperatives which are most suited to optimally fulfill the needs at the given level of the productive forces. On the contrary, earlier in the universal centralization process even the ones which existed until then, ceased to exist.

Thus the private craftsmen and retailers are the very ones who many times make up for the shortcomings of the small operations and organizations of the state operated and cooperative sector. This phenomenon is even more prominent in the area of services where the general lack of capacity provides room for private activity. At the present time and in the near future we must also expect a "shortage of capital," that is, that society will not be able to create additional capacities to the sufficient extent by social accumulation in the very area of services, and therefore it is forced to build also on individual accumulation.

The private ownership activity also has motivations starting out from the working individual. There is a large number of such small producers who left social production because they feel that the conditions for individual interests to prevail are too limited in the enterprises and cooperatives. Of course, habits or the desire to derive benefits from accumulated wealth ties entire strata to the private ownership activity.

Public opinion often passes superficial judgment on private ownership. Most often it disapproves of it primarily on the basis of those superficial phenomena which are contrary to the values of socialism, and at other times only when large profits are seen behind which the work, the effort cannot be felt. It often happens that private ownership is equated with exploitation and speculation. Many people are irritated by the much higher than average income in some cases, accumulation of property, prestige consumption, or employment of workers. There are those who are opposed to all this but not because of matters of principle, but simply because they envy the greater flexibility, creative activity and income of the private producers.

The source of superficial, improper judgment is partly the lack of information, and partly the fact that they see no difference between forms of private production, and finally that they do not take into consideration the definitive role of social ownership.

In general the public opinion does not know that the majority of small craftsmen and agriculture's private producers reach the general income level of workers and peasants with similar abilities, by doing hard and useful work. To many people the material circumstances of the highly prosperous small craftsmen and retail store owners appear to be general, even though there are significant differences among the private producers.

Even the various reasons for private ownership activity indicate that private production justified by given objective conditions of the production forces and needs is different from the one which tries to make up for the shortcomings of social production. If we wish to differentiate between the private ownership conditions according to their value systems, we can form the following groups.

The overwhelming majority of private production and private commerce is economic activity based on the individual activities of the workers and their family members. Most small craftsmen, small retailers, and small agricultural producers belong into this group. Their work is useful, and in most cases they are "exploiting" themselves because they work very much. It may happen, of course, that they abuse the market's opportunities, create a monopoly situation resulting from the shortage felt in their prices, and indeed some of them may even be speculators. But such phenomena also occur in the state operated and cooperative sectors. The undeserved "advantages" obtained in this manner are mainly the "battle spoils" of the shortcomings of our socialist economic operation, and therefore the basic solution for them is to eliminate the shortages rather than administratively control private production.

Personally owned items of value can also constitute the basis of private ownership situations. Personal ownership and private ownership are broadly intertwined in our country. There are over two million small producers in agriculture who do productive work in connection with social property, in many respects as a part of it, but who also sell independently, part time on the farmers' market; this group consists not only of peasants today since in addition to the 750,000 household plot operations more than one million small agricultural producer operations are owned by workers, intellectuals and employees.

The number of those workers is over 300,000 who in addition to their basic activities also repair machinery and equipment, build houses, fabricate implements, refurbish apartments, manufacture dough, sew clothes and satisfy other needs of the population. Renting out apartments, vacation homes and other items of value also affects hundreds of thousands. Therefore the question properly occurs that under such circumstances how can private ownership be differentiated from personal ownership.

Obviously, whether something is personal or private property is decided not by the identity of the items but by the circumstances under which people use the items. The differentiation is therefore extremely difficult. If we still wish to make it, we must take the following things into consideration. Production conducted on the basis of personal ownership is aimed primarily at one's own consumption, while that of private production is aimed at selling on the market. From this derives that this activity is the main source of income for

the private owners, their relationships are decisively those of the free market, competition is fundamental to them, and therefore they are compelled to accumulate. On the other hand the personal owner obtains only a supplementary income in this manner, his connections with social ownership are broad, he is not risking much, neither is his accumulation significant. However, I must point out once more that it is often impossible to separate these conditions, they intermix and blend into each other.

The minority of private owners also employ other employees in addition to their family members. Small craftsmen in 1982 employed 18,500 employees and 4,600 industrial trainees. It is obvious that these private owners obtain additional income through the employees. But even this is not valid for all cases. That is, if we consider that the employees receive higher wages than do people for similar work in the state operated or in the cooperative sector, the entrepreneur pays progressive taxes to the state, the situation often occurs where the owner does not realize additional income. Why does he then employ the employee? Either because alone he is unable to profitably utilize his own working strength and his production tools, or because of his advanced age this is the only way he can fulfill the orders of his customers.

The state limits the number of employees, and also endeavors to prevent exploitation by other statutes and economic means.

The socialist production conditions fundamentally define the implementation of private ownership conditions. Their weight represents an environment for private economic operation which exerts a decisive influence. Private production and commerce are in broad contact with the state operated and cooperative enterprises. They purchase materials, machinery and energy mainly from these and also sell a significant portion of their production to these. At the same time their contact with the population on the "free market" is also significant. In spite of this it is clear that the cooperation and even integration of the private sector with the social sector is gaining strength. Small scale industry is an increasingly significant supplier of the state operated and cooperative industry (this amounted to nearly 33 percent in 1980), new formats are also being developed in commerce for better supplying the private commerce with merchandise, and in agriculture also the contractual activity of private producers is expanding.

Thus the environment of private producers is different in socialism from that in capitalism. There is competition here also, such as between the controlling socialist sector and the private sector, but this is not aimed at ruining the private owners. However, in several places the monopoly position of the large state organization may prevail, and this may hinder the useful social activity of the small owners. On the other hand we may also meet with the phenomenon that speculative activity is present also in the operation of some state operated and cooperative enterprises. This is also the reason why it is so important that in addition to the general regulatory system of the economy--which, of course, is in effect for the private economic operations also--there must also be economic and administrative regulations in effect which on the one hand keep the private ownership conditions on the right track, and on the other hand protect the private producers against the harmful effects of the monopoly positions.

Thus the private ownership conditions are implemented differently in socialism than in capitalism. On the one hand, production and commerce are regulated in part by society. On the other hand the opportunity for speculation is more limited, and incomes are more proportional to work. And finally, accumulation by the private owners is more limited. The fundamental conditions of socialism designate the place of private ownership and determine the possibilities for its success. Dominant production conditions exist also in socialist society, but at the same time there are also elements of differing quality from these, deriving from the production conditions. Marx writes: "In every social format, one specific production is what designates the rank and influence of all other productions--and the relationships of which therefore designate the rank and influence of all other relationships." (Works of Marx-Engels, 46. I. Budapest, 1972 p 32) Thus, these other relationships exist, are implemented, and grow in a contradictory manner.

Besides their social usefulness, private production and commerce also generate many contradictions and reinforce those contradictions which are generated on the basis of the socialist conditions. In my article I want to mention only two of these which are fundamental and which affect our entire system of ownership and thinking.

One of the contradictions is that some of the private owners obtain higher than the average income with their work. When we are weighing whether the income of the small craftsman or retailer is proportional to his work, naturally it is insufficient to take into consideration only the physical work he performs. It may happen that a small craftsman receives twice as much for the same repair job as does the worker of a cooperative or of an enterprise, but it cannot be left out of consideration that the private producer and store owner must by himself also perform the other activities related to the economic operation. He must purchase materials and equipment, handle the orders or take the finished product to the market. This not only requires certain knowledge but also takes time away from the concrete production or selling work. He has to know the rules of economic operation, keep the various records and accountings and take care of what needs to be done in connection with the employees. And finally it must also be taken into consideration that he is risking his "wealth," his properties, as society does not assume his failures.

Thus if we take it into consideration that a small craftsman, for example--besides being a carpenter of good abilities--is at the same time also a foreman, a materials purchasing agent, a salesman, a bookkeeper, and at times even also a lawyer, his income must also be proportioned for that. All this also means that on the average many small producers and store owners work much more than the legal working hours established in the state operated sector. In this relationship the higher income is no longer as disproportionate as it appears on the surface.

The disproportionately large incomes--which undoubtedly do exist--are generated in part illegally by violating the laws and regulations, and in part by exploiting the problems and shortcomings which occur in the socialist sector of society's production and economic operation. The steps that can be taken against cheating and speculation are improvements in record keeping and in the

state's control, by more efficient work of the social organizations of the small producers, and consistent accountability in obeying the laws.

The large incomes are derived to a more significant extent from market shortages, from monopoly situations. On the free market--and the private sector operates on that market when it can do so--the conditions of supply and demand prevail without mercy. Therefore at times an automotive spare part may be obtained for four or five times the price or not at all; certain building maintenance jobs are performed for sums three or four times higher than they cost, otherwise the population can wait for them for months or years. In such a situation it is difficult to prevent profiteering by administrative means because we are then also controlling the fulfillment of needs. Such tendencies, even if not in the form and to this extent, can also be found in the state operated and cooperative sectors.

But the private producer and retailer can take advantage of these openings more flexibly and more quickly, his costs are lower, his equipment can be mobilized more quickly, as can his money and even the family's manpower. Thus it is no accident that these are the very areas a portion of the private sector primarily takes over, especially if social control is also more difficult there.

Making this kind of income can be eliminated or at least decreased only if we set out deliberately to establish the balance, to eliminate shortages. The appropriate commercial network will prevent "profiteering" by vegetable and fruit dealers, and expansion of the service and repair network, and adequate spare parts supply are the only effective antidote to black market prices. And in some areas the very expansion of the private sector may represent the solution, as we are seeing in the areas of passenger transportation or the trade in gift items.

Today still many people are attracted to the area of private activity by precisely this disproportionate income making opportunity. This also generates competition on the manpower market with the social sector. However, we must recognize that due to their multifaceted activity we mentioned before, the private producers and retailers will inherently have a higher income in the future than state or cooperative workers with similar qualifications, since this very thing is one of the main motivations to undertake private activity. And this does conform to our socialist principles, and is useful to society.

However, must also see that each year many people are turning in their private producers or retail permits, and discontinue their operations, especially in the districts, in small settlements. Some of these people return to the enterprises or cooperatives because they were unable to achieve significantly higher incomes. Others among them give it up because they were unable to learn, to get used to that multifaceted work which private enterprising requires. But there are also many who are forced to withdraw by the not sufficiently differentiated attitude, by the bureaucracy of the authorities; the majority of these are small craftsmen, freight haulers, hair dressers, etc in villages. It is extremely important that we support and assist these entrepreneurs, because nobody will take care of their functions if they do not.

A much more complicated contradiction attaches to the question of how privately owned economic activity can grow under the circumstances of socialism.

Under the present conditions of socialism, small scale merchandise production also carries within itself the tendency of growth. Particularly in those areas where it makes up for the weaknesses, the shortcomings of socialized production. A small craftsman who builds and maintains homes, an enterprise which operates a restaurant or boarding house, a retailer, or a plastics processor can make a living based on his own work and that of his family members. But the production forces make it possible for him to apply more advanced technology and machines, to develop a broader based specialization of work. Indeed, even society's need would desire that he expand his capacity, increase his production or services. As we have seen, the disproportionately large incomes which create the necessary foundation for accumulation, are also generated in these same areas because of the relative monopoly position. The market of employees is also favorable for similar reasons, since the owner can pay significantly higher wages than what the state or the cooperative enterprise can provide.

The state limits the number of employees and depending on the area it also limits to varying extents the volume of the total employment. On the other hand, by progressive taxation it places limitations on expanding the enterprise since over a certain volume the entrepreneur does not make any additional income. And last but not least, it also directly limits the technology that can be used, inasmuch as private owners are not permitted to purchase certain machines, transportation means or equipment.

On the other hand the irrational, wasteful consumption by small merchandise producers and retailers, at times triggering sharp antipathy in the public opinion, may also be the consequence of limiting accumulation. This is especially conspicuous now, at a time when the standard of living generally stagnates.

How can these contradictions be resolved, what are the perspectives for private ownership activity?

I think it can be seen even from this brief dissertation that the basic solution is to develop the ownership system as a whole, and primarily the state operated and cooperative formats. It is clear to us today that the social ownership organization is not the same as the large centralized enterprises and cooperatives. That is, if the production forces and needs call for optimally sized economic operating organizations of 20, 30 or 100 people, then such state operated or cooperative organizations must also be created. Care must, of course, be taken that the operating and guidance conditions of these also be different from those of the major enterprises. This process has already begun and we hope that modernizing the management system will reinforce the tendency.

We must necessarily consider those small enterprises which handle similar functions as do the state operated and the small cooperative organizations, while operating under private ownership conditions.

In all certainty the direction of further development will be rational integration of the ownership conditions, where these economic operating organizations which now are still loosely connected to the state operated and the cooperative sectors will make their cooperation more close and thus break through the limitations on the growth of the productive forces, while at the same time they also make better harmony possible between individual and social interests. Such social control will be possible to implement through this which will ensure a wide operating space for the healthy enterprising spirit and for better work.

In conclusion we must again state that significant growth and development are needed in the area of private production and services where even in the future the needs can be better fulfilled by building on individual working tools. This is what the main area of services to the population will be like for a long time to come, as will be all those types of production where primarily it is not technology but the virtuosity or even artistic work of the worker or master lends sense to the economic operation, to fulfilling the needs.

These are not temporary phenomena but have a lasting relationship with the socialist ownership system, in some aspects complementing it. Important social interest attaches to their successful operation, and therefore and to this extent they are worthy of political and, if necessary, also financial support.

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CSO: 2500/151

KIELCE PLENUM DEBATES SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 24, 23 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Lech Winiarski: "One Cannot Give Orders"]

[Text] On the eve of a reports-election campaign in the party, there was a provincial committee plenum in Kielce on the subject: "Tasks of party echelons and organizations aimed at further consolidation of party ranks." There seemed to be two different concepts of party activity in the present socio-economic situation of the country.

They appeared not in the form of sharply drawn opposite positions, but rather as doubts, reflections, and searching. A point of departure for the discussants were the numerous manifestations of bureaucracy, neglect of human needs, incompetence in management, and even dishonesty. The management personnel of the rural commune cooperatives, of power plants, and of the community administration were criticized especially.

Comrade Henryk Sienkiewicz from Bodzentyno cited examples of disorganized production in specialty enterprises because of unannounced frequent turning off of electricity; he spoke of spending hours waiting for baked goods in a gmina cooperative store, etc., facts that demoralize people. He appealed to the higher echelons for decided steps against such occurrences and for sanctions against those responsible for them.

Comrade Waldemar Latos expressed the view that the party policy is somewhat too liberal, that some people exploit democratization for their own ends. On the other hand, Comrade Andrzej Watek, first secretary of the city committee in Skarzysko-Kamienna, spoke heatedly of the fact that public opinion blames the party for all misdeeds, when the problem really is the activities of specific cliques functioning within the framework of various regulations. It is actually these cliques that protect dishonest leaders who use the authority of regulations for self-government, and many times the party is powerless against such combinations. "In such a situation," said Comrade Watek, "many a time the postulate of a participant in the national congress of young party members in Gdansk seems applicable: the party should enforce personnel discipline without regard for legal regulations."

Impatience Is a Poor Counselor

Together with a proper condemnation of evildoers, dishonest directors, chairmen, officials, evident in these voices was an unjustified tendency toward the echelons' taking a direct path to intervention in the functioning of cooperative, self-governing centers, and enforcing order there somehow from outside, using the method of the iron broom.

This subject was addressed by Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, who was participating in the discussions. He noted in his introduction that impatience might be a poor counselor in this case. He proceeded directly to the problem: can the party in such situations act somehow above the law? His answer was an unequivocal NO! The party cannot do this because it would be contrary to its policy, to its own interests. Even if the slogan of improving conditions and the atmosphere in certain institutions without regard to legal regulations may sound very revolutionary, in reality it is only harmful. Agreement to any kind of infraction of legal norms is inadmissible. In practice it would threaten a completely arbitrary interpretation of law by individual party functionaries. It would lead to license. "I will not assign such authority to anyone, and will not reserve it for myself," said the Central Committee secretary.

Comrade Barcikowski noted that the party should act within the framework of socialist legality. This injunction emanated from the text of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR. The party must be the guardian of legality. Under no circumstances should it be placed on a platform in opposition to binding legal norms. As a ruling party it has the privilege of legislating by introducing concrete proposals in the forum of the Sejm. For this reason respect by all party centers for the legal resolutions adopted by the Sejm is one of the conditions under which the party will regain the confidence of society.

And then there is patience, respect for new regulations adopted in a climate of political renewal, respect for autonomous, cooperative democracy. This does not mean helplessness, waiting with folded hands for automatic improvement of various illnesses in social life.

The Question Is, How

Comrade Waldemar Kowalski, first secretary of the city committee in Ostrow Swietokrzyski, speaking of the same difficulties, emphasized that today nothing can be demanded either of the chairman of the self-governing body or of the administration of the trade union. The secretary of the committee cannot, as in the past, call together those activists and adequately "marshal" them. What remains is effective adherence to the principles of Lenin so as to act in social organizations through party members elected to them. The prescription is simple in principle, but in practice, as Comrade Kowalski confirmed, we have forgotten about party collectives. As far as the echelons are concerned, inspiration in this area is weak and control is inadequate since they represent the party line in the workers' councils and

in the administration of the trade unions. In the present situation, the hard part of the work of the echelons should actually be shifted to the party collectives.

This reasonable point requires definition and consideration from various aspects. As was said during the Kielce provincial committee plenum, party members of the whole workers' council, the administration of the trade unions, etc., must be convinced of the harmfulness of the actions of certain people in administrative positions. Appeals to higher echelons are not enough: bring things into order, remove the incompetent administrator and the dishonest grafter from their posts. Today action cannot be taken inside the office, in secret, but faults and sins of those deserving to be dismissed must be proclaimed publicly.

Various back-scratching arrangements and dishonest interests that dictate the protection of nonqualified people responsible for administrative functions to certain members of representative organs must be exposed repeatedly. It is true that this type of activity of the party requires time and argument, but it is exactly on this that the party's political effect on the community and gaining nonparty support specifically depends. The more difficult task bears the more valuable fruit. It teaches self-reliance, democracy, taking matters into one's own hands. Comrade Barcikowski said, "Do not wait for Jaruzelski to set things right in Jedrzejowo. You have to do that yourselves." He also rejected the complaint of excessive liberalism of the party administration with respect to manifestations of social pathology and actions of the opposition, stressing the need for activating the lowest centers and echelons of the party, and not waiting for decisions from the top.

Direct Approach to Nonparty Members

The Kielce provincial committee plenum gave much attention to the need to direct the attention of the party away from intra-party matters and to strengthening ties with society, with non-party people. This was strongly emphasized by comrade Kowalski from Ostrowiec and by Stanislaw Grabski, chairman of the WKR [provincial audit commission], by Marek Kaczmarek, first secretary of city-gmina committee in Checiny, and by Waldemar Szczypciak from the Union of Economics Schools in Ostrowiec.

They spoke specifically of the need to recruit youth for the socialist cause, to educate it through work as well as through practical participation in government. Nevertheless, in the last area there is much conservative opposition, and some of the administrative-management personnel ignore the clear recommendations of the party administration expressed specifically in the resolution of the ninth plenum of the Central Committee with respect to the younger generation. In certain cases, as the chairman of the WKR indicated, intervention by the provincial committee would be needed to break through the unwilling attitude in administrative circles toward promoting the young and entrusting them with responsible tasks and positions.

Here the problem came up again: how can the tie with nonparty people be strengthened, how can they be socially activated? The answer was the same

as to the question of methods of combating back-scratching, inefficiency, incompetence: the echelons alone cannot develop a broad front of cooperation with nonparty people. This can be done by the lowest party centers: POP's [Basic party organizations], OOP's [Branch party organizations], and party groups. They are directly involved at workplaces, and village, town, and settlement centers.

Comrade Roman Swiatek from the gypsum producing plant in Gacki stressed that we should speak less of inspiration and party control, because lately concrete work has frequently been replaced by this slogan, and giving each activist-member of the echelon a task of systematic work with one or two POP's in the factories, and especially in the villages, where party work is crippled, has been neglected. These activists must always be "called to account" for their work with POP, and how they affect activation of nonparty people and how they are helping them to fight evil must be watched. With such organized help of experienced party activists, inspiration and supervision will no longer be an empty phrase.

It is worth emphasizing that the Kielce party organization has made significant achievements in the area of attracting nonparty people. An expression of this may be the fact that the people of Kielce belong to the forefront nationally in the development of regenerated trade unions. At the beginning of October 1982, they were already active in 770 workplaces there and involved 40 percent of the workers in the socialized economy of the province. On the basis of concrete union initiatives, the trade union movement is developing very successfully in the Marcel Nowotko Steel Works in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski where 60 percent of the workers are involved, and in the truck factory in Starachowice, where the ranks of the trade unions include 50 percent of the workers. In the teachers' center, the ZNP [Polish Teachers' Union] includes 80 percent of the personnel in primary and middle schools.

It must also be noted that in the politically difficult months of the provincial committee term, the party enrolled 1902 candidates, mainly young workers. Despite attacks by opposing forces and serious defection from party ranks of many of its members in key production plants such as the Nowotko steel works, the truck factory in Starachowice, the Predom-Mesco metal works in Skarzysko, and in the Kielce factories, Iskra, Polmo-SHL, and Chemar, it kept its strong position and fulfills its role as political leader well.

Disproportions Should Be Eliminated

Stressing these positive factors that engender optimism and mobilizing for action, at the same time the participants of the Kielce provincial committee plenum spoke, without beating around the bush, of serious deficiencies in many basic organizations and echelons at the basic level. Eliminating the disproportion between the level of active POP's and those that are passive and hold the party back was admitted to be an important element in putting in order the internal situation before the review-election campaign.

From the analyses made by the WKR and WKKP [provincial party control commission]. it seems, for example, that during the 24-month term, 133 POP/OOP's held one to six meetings, or an average of barely four meetings. In the provincial party organization there are 1030 candidates with prolonged training periods, some dating back to 1974. Work with candidates in general leaves much to be desired, as does party schooling. Some POP's display a disquieting liberalism with respect to members who violate statutory norms as well as legal ordinances. The WKKP sends information to basic party centers on every case where court sentence was passed on a party member. Yet there were cases where people sentenced to 2 years in jail for common crimes were removed from the roles instead of being excluded from the party. It is clear that POP's with this level of social activity and ideomoral sensitivity have no chance for leadership in their centers. They themselves require regeneration, being reminded of basic goals and tasks of the party, and being awakened from their lethargy. The review-election campaign must help them "find themselves" in today's political situation. The Kielce provincial committee plenum certainly constituted a strong drive in this direction also.

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CSO: 2600/437

BEDNARSKI ADDRESSES BYDGOSZCZ CONFERENCE

AU041522 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Dec 83 p 2

[Speech by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski at the Bydgoszcz Voivodship PZPR Committee's report-back and electoral conference in Bydgoszcz on 29 December]

[Text] Having in mind the experiences of recent months, every one of us here today can say that this [electoral] campaign is different from the one we went through together in 1981. The country is different and the party is also different.

Topics concerning the 13th Central Committee Plenum have dominated the meetings, chiefly the working meetings. Violations to one's feeling of social justice, greed and petty-bourgeois attitudes are causing criticism. A lot of attention is being paid to the struggle against pathological parasitism. International problems, coupled with the knowledge that we are part of a world which is in danger today and that imperialism is conducting a dangerous arms race, came to the fore immediately during the discussion. There has been no lack of concern during the discussion for one's own work place, for the effectiveness of the economic reform that is being implemented, and for one's living conditions.

We can say that what has been achieved during the term of office that is now drawing to a close has enabled us to understand slowly and surely the connection between what we can change and improve ourselves and what changes ought to be made in the way the system of authority functions. That is why I can also say with satisfaction that the Bydgoszcz Voivodship campaign has been a good, fruitful and very energetic one. The usefulness of holding the campaign during this difficult period has been confirmed. The report says that difficult problems were tackled often. We ought to be pleased with this because only this kind of party discussion makes sense. Being silent or passing over something in silence cannot bring anything constructive. And yet that has been the case in the past, the effects of which turned out dangerous for the party and for its political condition.

I am not exaggerating if I say that together, here in this Bydgoszcz party organization, it has been our lot to organize political life during a difficult and complicated period. Practically every day has brought forth new facts and has made it necessary to make important decisions. These decisions have often

contained various kinds of political consequences, but time has shown that the decisions have been overwhelmingly correct.

Now we must think about the future, about continuing everything that has gotten off to a good start in the party in recent months. As we know, dedicated people are joining the party, and more and more young people and workers are joining our ranks.

This causes optimism and enables one to look confidently to the future, because only a PZPR that is strengthening itself politically and organizationally is in a position to guarantee calm, stabilization and socialist development in the country.

The report that has been given to the delegates and also the preliminary report and the speeches of delegates contained many reflections on what has changed in social, political and economic life during the previous term of office.

The catalog of changes, achievements and new assessments is of course extensive. What is also important is that all of these have been brought about with the wide participation of party members and through numerous consultations and deeper analyses. The participation of trade unions and the increasingly more active self-management bodies in these consultations has been large.

Clear and undeniable changes have occurred in many spheres of political and economic life. Here are some of them:

- Economic progress and a more active social policy;
- Political and economic reforms;
- A normalization of the sociopolitical situation;
- A strengthening of the party's leadership role.

The road we have followed has not been easy, and yet we still managed to find enough strength and common sense to surmount the obstacles. Next year, and probably the years after that, will also bring us many cares, problems to solve and unknown barriers. We must remember that the time has not yet come for us to calm ourselves and that the political struggle is still on.

The party activists and members need to be sure that we will reach the planned goals and overcome the crisis. Resilience and consistency are needed to perform the tasks. The values brought about by the socialist transformations need to be effectively defended. It is we who bear special responsibility for strengthening the socialist system, overcoming crises, introducing reforms in all spheres, and strengthening the party.

Thanks to laws passed by the Sejm, martial law and the subsequent period have brought essential features to make production more disciplined. The right technical and material conditions have been guaranteed. The achieved production results indicate that this year's plan will be fulfilled and even overfulfilled.

A lot of this is due to Bydgoszcz Voivodship. During the 11 months of this year's plan will be fulfilled and even overfulfilled. A lot of this is due to Bydgoszcz Voivodship. During the 11 months of this year, the voivodship has increased production in socialized industry by 13.7 percent, while the national increase of production has been 7.4 percent.

The farmers of Bydgoszcz deserve praise for the high grain, livestock and milk figures. One should also praise the correct procurement of beets and potatoes, although the weather conditions for them have been less favorable than in previous years.

Increased productivity is the result of the reform. Here I must say that the reform is being correctly implemented in Bydgoszcz Voivodship because of the initiative of work places and the encouragement of party organizations. While making assessments like this, we must not forget the growing importance of trade unions, to which over 30 percent of the workforces belong. We see the need to make party members more active inside the trade union ranks.

It is good that a lot of attention has been paid to young people and their education during the talks. Not enough young people are joining in the activity of social organizations. Wait-and-see attitudes are still widespread, and we are still not getting completely through to this important group of society. We cannot come to terms with this. There can be only one victor in this struggle for the hearts and minds of young people--the party. But to make this come about, we must make the youth unions more active.

The adversary is waiting for us to make a slip, he is waiting for periodic relaxations in our work tempo. He has suffered a series of setbacks, but he still intends to fight people's authority and the system, and he intends to delay stabilization with whatever means he can. Having given up tactical action which has not brought the expected results, he is now seeking new banners, around which opponents to the system will be gathered. The so-called Provisional Coordinating Commission with Bujak at its head has adopted a tactic that calls for a battle spread out in several stages and over several years.

The domestic and Western centers of subversion possess a common desire to commence instigational activity designed to arouse more widespread social dissatisfaction. Economic affairs are being chiefly used for this purpose, whereby the idea is expressed that the entire costs of the crisis and of the mistakes made by the authorities are being heaped on the population. This is meant to be a basis for "persistent opposition" and reason for altering battle tactics according to the situation.

It is clear from this that there are still forces in Poland who want to foment political excesses, which agrees with the principles of Reagan's policy. The opposition is pleased with every sign of dissatisfaction, whatever the form in which this dissatisfaction manifests itself.

Therefore we must include the commencement of counterrevolutionary activities by the opposition in the further development of events. We must be aware of this and take it into account in our party activity plans.

Bearing in mind the experiences of the past and the tasks stemming from the current situation, we must concentrate the party's attention above all on strengthening the organizational, ideological and political unity of our ranks. The Bydgoszcz party organization is doing this well, as illustrated by the number of acceptances for party membership, which is growing from month to month.

Tightening the bonds between the party cells and apparatus on the one hand and party members on the other remains a current issue. Direct meetings with rank-and-file party members, groups of workers and nonparty peasants should become the main testing-grounds for the actions undertaken by every party cell. We should use the conclusions reached during these meetings more often when improving the work of party cells and organizations, activating workers councils and perfecting the work of the state and economic administration.

The strategic course of the party during the country's emergence from the crises remains without change the line of national accord and the line of struggle. Progress in following this line should be illustrated by the development of the trade unions and of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, more energetic work by self-management bodies and by a growth of initiative by society and by production enterprises. Constant progress in the above areas will mean that the line of accord has been fixed for good and that normalization is spreading.

Today's talks give one food for thought about the work of the voivodship committee. It is difficult for me to make a completely objective assessment of this work because I feel I am the joint creator of the program of action adopted 2.5 years ago and because I led the voivodship party organization for many months. I know the troubles, worries and joys which the party in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship has experienced during the previous term of office. There is one thing we can all be satisfied with--a lot has changed during this time and changed for the better. This is certainly due to the leadership which is now stepping down, but it is also to an equal extent due to members of the voivodship party organization who often hold no function but still identify themselves with their organization which implements the party's resolutions and follows its guidelines. If today we speak of the values and achievements of the past term of office, this is greatly due to the entire organization and to the 80,000-plus comrades who belong to it.

However, there are also spheres of activity to which our entire party, including the Bydgoszcz organization, must pay particular attention during the coming term of office. What I mean is that activity must be even more effective and consistent. A particularly important matter is the voivodship party organization's work with factory committees and primary-level party cells. The experience is good here, thanks to the party workstyle, but even so new initiatives are necessary. The training of departmental secretaries inside party organizations requires a lot of attention. There is a need to constantly raise their political, organizational and methodical knowledge.

CSO: 2600/577

PZPR OFFICIALS VIEW STRATEGY OF ANTICOMMUNISM

AU181519 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Jan 84 p 5

["Authorized excerpts" from lecture presented by Jerzy Majka, head of the PZPR Central Committee Information Department, and by Janusz Kolczynski, first deputy head of this department, at Polish-Soviet ideological seminary held in Warsaw on 13-15 December: "The Strategy of Anticommunism"--first installment]

[Excerpts] The worldwide dimension of socialism has greatly increased its impact throughout the world. Imperialism has lost its monopoly of shaping international relations, whose present form is being increasingly influenced by the existence and policy of the world socialist system.

This has created more favorable conditions for social progress and for implementing the principles of equality and justice in international relations as well. A real chance for eliminating war--that specter that has persecuted mankind for thousands of years--has appeared for the first time in history.

The reaction of worldwide imperialism to the new situation was to launch a counteroffensive in all areas against progressive trends in international relations. The class struggle has acquired a universal and global character, and the worldwide balance of forces between socialism and capitalism has become the axis of this struggle.

In line with the logic of social development, the strategy of the imperialist actions against the socialist countries is global and increasingly more total in character. These actions continue in all spheres--political, military, economic and ideological--with the help of all possible means and to the extent of violating not only the usual customs, but also international law.

In the past few years U.S. imperialism, which is the most influential force of the world bourgeoisie, has followed the policy of radical confrontation with socialism in international relations. The Reagan administration, which expresses the ideological and political thinking of the most rabid and reactionary wing of the American bourgeoisie, has pursued that policy to an unprecedented extent. It was no accident that the authors of this policy called it an "anticommunist crusade."

In this connection let us ask: What is now the basic programmatic substance of the strategy of anticommunism? We think that it is based on two subversive

slogans: "The Struggle for Human Rights and Democracy," and "The Soviet Military Threat."

This programmatic concept is primarily an American product. However, it is easy to see that other national factions of the imperialist bourgeoisie also continue to gradually adopt this concept, as a result of U.S. pressure. At the same time, the concept finds ready acceptance in many capitalist countries because it offers the desired ideological interpretation of the present world--interpretation that is optimistic from the viewpoint of the bourgeoisie's interests. Not much significance is attached in those countries to the fact that that ideological optimism is inconsistent with reality and with that lesson of history that has often demonstrated that the classes whose historical prospects have been truly threatened have sought salvation in such ideological optimism.

What we can see today is an obvious return to the ideological apologetics of capitalism in its traditional form, to the formulas that deny the meaning and significance of class divisions, and, consequently, to the negation of the historical importance and role of socialism. This is demonstrated by the reduction in the propaganda plan of pseudosocialist camouflage in favor of a more open pro-bourgeois argumentation.

In this connection it is impossible not to see that the above change has also been caused by the thesis of the "crisis of communism," a thesis that a large segment of the ideologues of the modern bourgeoisie regards as the basic key to evaluating Marxist-Leninist ideology, the practice of real socialism, and the prospects of the world revolutionary process. The aforementioned ideological optimism, which also takes into consideration the Polish crisis, is the main methodological basis of that thesis. However, this and other considerations (for example, the consideration of Eurocommunism) ignore the fact that the fundamental sources of various phenomena are outside socialism and are to the highest extent a result of the indirect or direct impact of capitalism.

The evolution of the global strategy of imperialism presented here makes it necessary for the international community of the socialist states not only to make careful analyses, but, above all, to draw the necessary conclusions in line with the changing situation. The unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact countries and other socialist countries are of great importance for countering the policy of imperialism, which is extremely dangerous for mankind. The experience, political authority, economic potential, and the defense power of the USSR plays a decisive role here.

He who fails to understand this and who attaches more importance to temporary or parochial interests than to solidarity, does a favor to our class adversary and aids imperialism. This is the iron logic of the present struggle.

CSO: 2600/576

PZPR AKTIVS DESCRIBE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN SCHOOLS

AU202042 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 4 Jan 84 p 19

[Wanda Erbetowska and Bronislaw Redzioch report: "Teachers' Meetings"]

[Excerpts] The PZPR Central Committee Education and Science Department has sponsored countrywide meetings of educational aktivs. It has invited representatives of the administrative and political leadership of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing to attend these meetings since, aside from the strictly party issues connected with the forms and methods of the work and tasks of the community commissions, the meetings discussed problems of the performance of education itself.

The first meeting was held in Lodz and then in Bydgoszcz, Lublin and Katowice. The Katowice meeting was attended by secretaries of community commissions and chairmen of the education commissions from 12 voivodships: Krosno, Bielsko Biala, Jelenia Gora, Zielona Gora, Leszno, Nowy Sacz, Walbrzych, Wroclaw, Katowice, Krakow and Czestochowa [number of voivodship names as published].

The hosts of the meeting informed the participants about the educational situation in Katowice and about achievements, problems, and forms of party work. As a result of the Katowice and the three previous meetings, the Central Committee Education and Science Department will draw up a document entitled "The Role and Tasks of Party Organizations in Schools."

The task facing the entire party community concerned with education are not easy, because schools have become an area of an acute ideological struggle, whose burden is borne primarily by primary party organizations in schools. In addition, these organizations are responsible for the outcome of this struggle. That is why the tasks formulated by the Katowice meeting are mainly aimed at raising the status of educational work at schools. Teachers who are party members will not be able to do this by themselves. They need cooperation of the pedagogical councils and a majority of the cadres, who are not always suitably qualified. Much is being done to change this state of affairs with the help of refresher courses, various forms of training, ideological conferences, seminars organized by party cells, community commissions and primary party organizations themselves.

Teachers are not the only people concerned with upbringing. The task of upbringing also devolves on the home, the family and the community. The discussion at the Katowice meeting was dominated by the subject of creating a homogeneous front of upbringing. The meeting decided that precisely the community commissions should reestablish the ties between parents and schools and between schools and enterprises. We use the word reestablish because the current state of these ties leaves much to be desired. Contacts with the parents of school pupils are sporadic and casual. It is true that parental committees are active at schools, but the thing is that they are busy everywhere except in the field of ideological-educational work. As a rule these committees take the view that socialist upbringing is the duty of schools. In addition, occasionally some parents engage in activities against such upbringing. Attempts to make parents more militant are made primarily in the case of the parents who are party members. Such parents include those who are not active in parental committees. However, not all of them realize that schools need their help in the area of upbringing.

As for the tasks formulated at the Katowice meetings, one of them is that primary party organizations should show more solicitude for youth organizations at schools. It is a fact that self-management bodies at schools are fairly efficient, but that in some educational institutions they are in a dominant position and do not cooperate with the Polish Scout Union or the Union of Socialist Polish Youth or even ignore them. There are many reasons for this, but the most crucial is the fact that youth organizations at schools are simply poor in their performance. A wisely arranged care and encouragement with regard to these organizations will certainly rectify the situation.

The Lublin meeting of the party educational activists was attended by representatives from Biala Podlaska, Chelm, Bialystok, Lomza, Ostroleka, Radom, Rzeszow, Tarnobrzeg, Siedlce, Suwalki and Zamosc Voivodships.

Among other problems the meeting discussed political phenomena and educational workers' ideological attitudes. It noted that the system of educational management was imperfect, that there was a lack of effective control over the process of instruction, that features of far-reaching liberalism were still rife, and that a large segment of teachers continued to show excessive indulgence and tolerance toward negative attitudes and were even hostile to socialist upbringing. The meeting critically evaluated some teachers as educators and noted that a large segment of educational workers were in a state of disintegration [dezintegracja], passivity and apathy, that they continued to run away from the issues of upbringing, and that they restricted their influence on pupils exclusively to instructing them in respective subjects. Many participants in the meeting criticized those heads of school and educational institutions, who often restricted their functions to paying out salaries and to administering the school property, without committing themselves to the task of upbringing of the young generation. In connection with these negative features the meeting stressed the need for the party organizations in schools to develop militant activities.

Efforts should be made to exert influence on the awareness and attitudes of the young generation in such a way that pupils not only acquire knowledge, but also are subjected by teachers in every school to upbringing in a spirit of respect for their socialist fatherland.

PZPR CC MEMBER-GRASSROOTS MOODS

AU171128 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 14 Jan 84 p 6

[Interview given by Roman Golinski, driver of the State Motor Transport in Inowroclaw and PZPR Central Committee member, to Dobrochna Kedzierska: "Sitting Pretty Behind Steering Wheel"--date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Kedzierska] Would you introduce yourself to readers?

[Golinski] I have a comfortable easy chair--behind the steering wheel of a bus. I have been a bus driver for 20 years now. I was first a truck driver, but now I drive passengers. I am 39 years old and married. My wife gave up her job 3 years ago, which has its advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, she is now able to look after our son, but, on the other, we find it tough to make ends meet.

[Kedzierska] Do you feel at times uncomfortable as a Central Committee member?

[Golinski] I have got used to it. I was stunned when I got elected to the Central Committee. I have been a party member for 9 years now and an active member of the branch trade unions for years. I have not been afraid to speak the truth, but this has not harmed me in any way. It was not until I became a Central Committee member that I realized how important it is for workers to be in the Central Committee.

[Kedzierska] Do you speak your mind?

[Golinski] It has become a tradition in our country that if things are passed over in silence, the situation is good. That is why I keep on repeating the truth on every occasion about the dramatic situation in transportation.

[Kedzierska] Any results?

[Golinski] They vary, but I do not give up so easily. I will give you an example. For years we in transportation have been asked to conserve fuel, which is an indisputable necessity. But the thing is that while we have been encouraged to conserve, everything was being done to discourage us.

[Kedzierska] Impossible.

[Golinski] How come impossible? Those who believed that it was necessary to conserve fuel were treated with suspicion by the enterprise. In addition, for a liter of conserved fuel our enterprise had to make a double payment in other forms, including taxation. Because this problem concerned transportation as a whole and because its solution had been bandied about for too long a time, I decided to write to Vice Premier Szalajda. I received a negative reply, but I continued to harass the people in power. In vain, I even thought of writing to the general himself [Jaruzelski], but in the meantime an opportunity presented itself for me to speak to him personally, and I told him--yes, him--how fuel is conserved in transportation. His answer was: nonsense. The upshot of it all is that now it pays to conserve fuel.

[Kedzierska] What is the party like now?

[Golinski] Frankness is the present principle in the party. Big and small issues continue to be discussed. I am sometimes irritated when at the meetings in which I participate the party secretaries see that only big issues are discussed. And yet workers want to tell a Central Committee member who is a worker himself about their troubles. Perhaps such troubles are small fry in the eyes of outsiders, but they are the most important problems for those who speak about them. There can be no place in the party for pooh-poohing tactics. We should not wonder if such tactics make some workers unwilling to march with us in the same rank. We have forgotten only too often that life consists of small problems.

[Kedzierska] What do people talk about at meetings?

[Golinski] First of all they talk about their plants and towns. They ask us to tell those higher up about their troubles. Then they ask about the reform, prices, settling accounts with former party leaders and about the general.

[Kedzierska] Do they still ask about settling accounts?

[Golinski] This is nothing to wonder at. Despite the passage of time, people in my community have not changed their views on settling accounts. If a person is guilty, he should be punished. If not, then the people should be told why he is not guilty. There must be the same justice for all. Settling accounts is taking too long a time, and that is why people become embittered. We must bear in mind that in the eyes of the public a thief is a thief, no matter what position he may occupy. I have been taught to look other people straight in the eye. If you pooh-pooh people, the results can be catastrophic. He who has no respect for others should not expect respect for himself. This is an old truth, but it has to be trotted out all the time.

[Kedzierska] What do people want to know about General Jaruzelski?

[Golinski] They want to know what kind of a person he is. I always tell that he is a truthful and industrious person. He has speeded up work to such an extent that two Central Committee secretaries became seriously ill. He is also intolerant of any fairy tales. That is why we also are on guard against fairy tales, but there are problems that irritate us. We Central Committee members

who are workers are irritated by too much indulgence toward the blue-eyed people. We have to go to work at 0400, while some guys loiter about, have money and keep on drinking. Why should I care about any conventions when those guys take notice of no one. It is the same with the profiteers. I know that when shops are stocked full with goods the problem of profiteers will disappear, but let us do something now to make profiteering unprofitable. If we do, people will believe in us.

[Kedzierska] Do people believe in you?

[Golinski] They certainly believe in the sincerity of the general's intentions, and they would believe even more if the new mode of thinking found its way to everyone. There is no problem with the elected party people, because if they fail in their duties they have to go. But the people in the economic and political apparatus are a problem. Indifference at the intermediate level will destroy the best intentions. The period of commands and prohibitions is over. He who does not see that is politically blind and will have to go sooner or later. Not so long ago I had a talk with the workers of the Inowroclaw city committee about the principles of reviewing the apparatus cadres. They themselves agreed that it was a high time to undertake such a review.

What are we to do to ensure that people can believe in us? I have often pondered this question, but this is an issue for generations and not for today or tomorrow. We have been given the report of the commission that inquired into the causes of our crisis. I have learned many things from that report and am convinced that the truth must be the only method of dialogue between the power apparatus and the people. Selecting certain facts and omitting others takes its revenge sooner or later. We must not forget this.

[Kedzierska] The accountability-election campaign in Bydgoszcz Voivodship is over. What was it like?

[Golinski] It differed from the previous one in that emotion and aggressiveness disappeared from the speeches of delegates. The discussions were dominated by concern for the country and the party. The simple truth is that the party members' awareness has undergone changes. We have realized that carefully listening to the voices of party groups is a guarantee that correct action will be taken. In the old days there was no consistency of action, and some resolutions were never implemented. Today we account for every item of the resolutions, and if a resolution has not been implemented, we ask why it was not implemented and see to it that it is implemented. We are also careful not to ignore any voice.

During the accountability-election campaign much attention was devoted to the economic reform. It is true that everyone seems to regard it as the only solution for our crisis and that people have a theoretical knowledge of its principles, but the fact is that in practice the lower you go in enterprises, the less of this knowledge you will find.

CSO: 2600/571

BACKGROUND, ACTIVITIES OF NATIONAL DEFENSE LEAGUE

History, Role

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 21 Oct 83 pp 1,5

/Interview with Gen Div Zygmunt Huszcza, head of the National Defense League's Main Directorate, by Col Andrzej Monastyraki; date and place not specified/

/Question/ Historically speaking, you are, Comrade General, the president of the first social organization born in People's Poland that has such a universal scope and influence.

/Answer/ Yes, our organization, at that time known as the Association of Soldiers' Friends /TPZ/, was created in 1944, on the first territories liberated from the occupation. The main task of TPZ was to assist and take care of those who were liberating our country, who effectively defeated the enemy. Despite the way destruction, despite the genuinely difficult circumstances of those days, the Polish people would always find something to share with their liberators and defenders.

TPZ circles and organizations, born spontaneously, took care of wounded and sick soldiers on gradually liberated territories. They sent parcels with gifts, food, warm clothing to the front and hospitals. TPZ delegations visited the wounded and sick, organized for them Christmas and New Year's parties in hospitals, etc.

/Question/ Can one then say that TPZ constituted some sort of second echelon?

/Answer/ Of course. Our organization followed the front very closely, always along with the soldiers, trying to alleviate their hardships, to help them, to give them--if with a warm letter from children, school kids--evidence that society was attached to the military, to give them an expression of gratitude for their military efforts on the front.

/Question/ And later?

/Answer/ Later, after the war, TPZ continued to take care of soldiers, especially veterans and the disabled. But in addition to that came new tasks, which was also reflected in the change of our name.

/Question/ So the National Defense League /LOK/ undertook many new tasks and duties?

/Answer/ ...And quite important ones. We conduct extensive activities with regard to propaganda, organization as well as merits, in the field of the defense preparation of the people. Various forms of instruction, courses and events are organized for that purpose, in which thousands of people take part. I would not like to mention heretoo many figures, but sometimes it is simply too difficult to avoid them, as they are an indispensable illustration of the problem. For example, in only the last 5 years we trained a total of 1,130,000 drivers, a considerable part of whom are youngsters not yet of draft age who earned in this way qualifications and military specialty, even before their military service. This was made possible by the fact that in the years 1978-1983 we considerably expanded our educational facilities, as 16 new centers were created for the training of drivers and for political and defense training. During the same period, we trained for military and other purposes 800 scuba divers; in our 241 aquatic clubs and 19 centers for aquatic training, about 3,000 sailors and 1,500 motor-boat people are trained each year and, in addition, about 2,000 people learn how to swim and row. Young people prepared this way come later to our military units.

/Question/ Does the LOK also play an important role in training candidates for NCO schools?

/Answer/ Each year quite a number of recruits who went through the basic NCO training preparing them for military service graduate from our centers; they are familiar with weapons, know how to shoot, they learned in outline regulations, drill, principles of collective life.

/Question/ But this is not the entire sphere of your activities.

/Answer/ Certainly not. The whole is covered in the LOK Main Directorate /ZG LOK/ report to our approaching Eighth National Congress. It counts, a mere trifle, over 180 printed pages.

/Question/ That is really an enormous amount of material.

/Answer/ That was imposed by the enormous importance of problems that are being solved by LOK. Let us take for example the problem of young people, of the work in that environment. Apart from the patriotic and defense education, we are geared for a polytechnic development of children and young people. In our more than 1,300 pattern-shops we train each year almost 100,000 people, of which approximately 1,000 obtain

various ranks in the pattern-making specialty. During the last 5 years, at various international competitions, our pattern-makers won for our national colors 81 medals, of which 26 were gold.

Our short-wave clubs are successful. During this period the LOK organized about 1,600 events in the communications field with almost 25,000 participants.

/Question/ The LOK means mainly defense matters but not only these, true?

/Answer/ The LOK means also problems of patriotic education of youth and adults, problems of shaping civic attitudes, respect for work. Many members of our organization took part in collective works in commemoration of the 35th anniversary of the People's Republic of Poland. A total of 195 athletic rifle ranges were built and modernized then, many training centers were modernized, a lot of other works were carried out, totaling over 140 million zlotys. We propagated the honorary blood donation campaign among our drivers. The Warsaw LOK Polytechnic Club collected, repaired and distributed through PKPS /Polish Social Assistance Committee/ more than 200 TV sets to elderly people, the disabled and veterans who could not afford to buy such equipment.

/Question/ How did the LOK activities look during martial law?

/Answer/ Right after its imposition, in January 1982, LOK activists visited hundreds of soldiers and policemen standing guard at combat posts. More than 10,000 soldiers received wishes, flowers and symbolic gifts.

/Question/ It was a beautiful people's gesture...

/Answer/ ...And not only a gesture. It proved that there were still indissoluble ties between the military and society, it expressed gratitude and thanks for the military efforts, for having saved our country from fratricidal fighting.

Apart from that, we continued our training, propaganda and organizational activities.

I would like also to say that, along with the whole military milieu, along with the rational majority of society, we stand firmly on the renewal and strengthening of socialism in Poland. The LOK, in all its activities, was always in the mainstream of our country's sociopolitical life, participating actively in the fight for People's Poland and in its building.

As early as in December 1980 we defined our place and tasks, declaring ourselves strongly for the realization of the line of political renewal

represented by the PZPR. In carrying out these tasks, LOK members and activities, and especially members of Reserve Officers' Clubs, in the years 1980-81 and especially in the days of martial law, were present at the forefront of defending the line and policy of the party and people's authority, of socialism in Poland and of the system of our alliances.

/Question/ The LOK, tested in the difficult days, faces today its Eighth General Congress. What will be its main theme?

/Answer/ We intend to account thoroughly for our activities, to evaluate our results, to reveal still existing weaknesses, to detect their causes and outline ways of overcoming them.

We have the draft of a very rich program of activities for the years 1984-87. We believe that its realization in the fields of ideological, educational and sociopolitical activities as well as in activity for the benefit of our armed forces will lead to the strengthening of our country's defenses, in agreement with our statutory mission, duty and obligation of each citizen-patriot.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the interview.

Tasks, Activities

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 44, 30 Oct 83 pp 5,21

/Interview with Gen Div Zygmunt Huszcza, head of the National Defense League's Main Directorate, by Wladyslaw Misiolok; date and place not specified/

/Question/ Comrade General, let us start our conversation with the basics: what is LOK and what tasks does it have to accomplish?

/Answer/ My shortest answer is: LOK is a public, defense-oriented organization. Its main objective and mission is to propagate patriotic, defense-oriented and civic attitudes in society, especially among the youth. I do not mean declarations but a commitment, reflected for example in studying and learning defense and technical skills, as well as in personal services for the defense.

This task is fulfilled first of all through the ideological and educational work and through the training activities of the league. Because of our country's economic situation, we attach great importance to economizing LOK's property.

/Question/ Our readers, especially young ones, are interested in the training activities of the LOK. What are their main lines?

/Answer/ They cover a very large complex of various projects related to the teaching of various defense and technical specialties and

preparing the young for military service as well as for work in the national economy. Each year, we train thousands of drivers, skin-divers and divers, signallers, sailors and pattern-makers. Our priority is to train specialists for Poland's armed forces.

As far as motor training is concerned, the league meets to a very high degree the national economy's demand for drivers as well as social needs connected with motorization. We do not limit ourselves to merely organizing driving courses: the LOK motor clubs propagate good driving manners and technological progress.

Communication is another important sphere of our activity. The network of LOK radio clubs, while serving civil defense needs, is used at the same time for training the young in the amateur radio operator and radio engineering specialties.

In our aquatic activities we teach more people how to swim, we do seaman's training and we organize the sea tournament.

/Question/ I am sure readers do not know that there is such a tournament.

/Answer/ It is a very important, difficult and at the same time attractive class of defense sports.

/Question/ Hence, defense and technical sports are one of the lines of LOK's activities, are they not?

/Answer/ It is a very important field of LOK activity. We organize competitions and contests in all classes of these sports. The Defense Fitness Badge is very popular with the young. The polytechnic training conducted by the league is organized on a very large scale. The young who attend it not only satisfy their interests, but also earn qualifications useful in their professional work. It is obvious that such training also contributes to the defense preparation of the population.

/Question/ The activities you are talking about, Comrade General, are taken advantage of by the young who are not of draft age yet. But, after all, LOK is not only teen-agers...

/Answer/ We attach great importance to work with Polish Army reservists, especially with the reserve officers who are members of LOK Reserve Officers' Clubs. Those clubs are the main source of the league's cadre working for the community. We try to take as much advantage as we can of the political and educational experience and social authority of the reserve officers.

/Question/ The LOK is the most numerous but not the only paramilitary organization. Does it cooperate with other organizations in carrying out the above tasks?

/Answer/ Among our closest allies are school superintendent offices, school directors, youth organizations, especially the ZHP /Polish Scout Union/ and ZSMP /Polish Socialist Youth Union/, the Polish Aero Club. The league's cooperation with these institutions and organizations concerns mainly the sphere of defense sports and polytechnic education. For example: we organize together with the ZHP technical and defense maneuvers, and with the ZSMP--sports and defense athletic meets. We collaborate with other organizations, too, conducting together various technical and defense contests at different levels. In these activities we meet also with the assistance of military units.

/Question/ In what environments is the league most active?

/Answer/ Among school children.

/Question/ And the countryside, Comrade General? Is the LOK present in the country?

/Answer/ Yes, and it is a visible presence, especially in various farmers' centers and schools. I am not concealing, however, that our activity in the country is constrained by difficulties, especially in terms of premises. In seeking a solution to this problem we made an agreement with the Volunteer Fire Brigade Union on the joint organization of sociopolitical and defense events in the country.

This year, we began to carry into effect the ambitious slogan "country youth--to sea." Last July, there were 90 country boys and girls in our training camp in Augustow; 60 of them went back home with their sailing certificates. Another example for the girls from the district school in Kolbudy it was an unforgettable experience to cruise the Baltic Sea aboard the LOK flag yacht "General Zaruski." There will be more such initiatives in the future.

Speaking of the country youth, I will use one more example. The LOK team won top positions during the contests at this year's International Friendship camp in Volgograd. Our team consisted mainly of country youth.

/Question/ Comrade General, what does the LOK have at its disposal, what does it offer its members? how right are our readers when they write us that LOK facilities are experiencing shortages of equipment and materials?

/Answer/ Yes, there occur certain shortages of equipment, educational aids and tool kits. We experience them mostly in the fields which are especially popular with the young, in game shooting, communication, pattern-making. The point is that even if our centers do have money, they are unable to buy what they need because it is not in the

stores. In this situation it is necessary to use even better what we have, and that refers not only to the LOK. That is why we entered into cooperation with the ZHP and its Repository, with school superintendent offices and schools. We count also on an assistance from the military, GKKFiS /Main Committee for Physical Culture and Sports/ and sports organizations.

/Question/ In one of your public addresses (for PAP0) you said, Comrade General, that the LOK enters the new stage of its activities enriched by achievements and values worked out during martial law. What are those achievements, those values?

/Answer/ This is a very broad topic so I will mention just a few facts and comments. The period of martial law meant:

--first, a period of strict cooperation of our organizations and cells, including reserve officers clubs, with territorial committees for national defense, military unit commanders, operational groups, police headquarters, political and administrative authorities;

--second, participation of our members in the realization of WRON /Military Council for National Salvation/ decisions, especially those related to the strengthening of law, order and social discipline;

--third, intensification of educational work, especially with the students;

--fourth, getting involved in initiatives favoring stabilization of life in our country, national agreement and strengthening of our defenses;

--fifth, increased activity of LOK circles and clubs.

In order not to confine myself to general statements, here are some figures: 6,000 LOK members took part in defense and security patrols; 25,000 were on duty in civil defense units in the capacity of advisors, chiefs of service and instructors; 15,000 people were on duty with ORM0 /Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia/; within the framework of the camp operation "Summer '82," our teams organized "defense days" in 1,200 camps; 40,000 LOK members are active in PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ cells.

One can say, without fearing to exaggerate, that in that difficult period the LOK fully confirmed its ideological and political identity. The league's activities were fully approved and highly appreciated by the territorial committees for national defense and political and administrative authorities in Ostroleka, Poznan, Konin, Olsztyn, Koszalin, Elblag, Katowice, Opole regions and in other provinces.

/Question/ The league's provincial conventions, preceding the Eighth LOK National Congress, have come to an end. What important issues were raised during the pre-congress campaign?

/Answer/ Most often people spoke about the need to stimulate further activities of local--including those in gminas--cells of the league and of its circles and clubs in schools and workplaces. It was generally demanded that the schedule for the circles and clubs be worked out in such a way as to be attractive for the young, in spite of the shortages of equipment and materials.

These and other suggestions will be reflected in the league's program of activities for the years 1984-87 and in the amended LOK Statute.

/Question/ The preparations for the Eighth LOK Congress coincided with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the LWP /Polish People's Army/...

/Answer/ This is a very intimate anniversary for our 2 million members. We took advantage of it in our educational work in order to strengthen our ties with the military, ties which are cordial and at the same time businesslike. We will keep strengthening and developing them because it is a fundamental condition for the realization of our organization's tasks.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate warmly and extend best wishes in the name of all the LOK members to the soldiers of Polish People's Army on the occasion of the anniversary of our armed forces. Let their soldier's service to the socialist fatherland bring them as much satisfaction and social approbation as possible.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the interview, Comrade General.

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SIWAK DISCUSSES MISUSE OF PARTY TIES

AU181523 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Jan 84 pp 3, 4

[Article by Albin Siwak, PZPR Politburo member: "Light and Shadow"]

[Excerpts] As the chairman of the Suggestions and Complaints Commission [of the Central Committee], practically every day I come across dozens of examples of situations illustrating the soullessness of officials, the all-prevailing power of money, the brutal superiority of the strong over the weak, slyness and greed, stupidity and laziness, as well as examples of secret arrangements which constantly reappear. But I also listen to people's lies, helplessly observing the wall of unjustified dissatisfaction and anger that is being so painstakingly constructed by a client. How much energy is being wasted this way! How often we forget that when tidying up we should start with our own back yard, with ourselves.

Not so long ago, a close acquaintance of mine, a party and trade union activist, tried to encourage me to be more militant and determined. "Siwak," he said, "pull out all the weeds in our lives even more boldly and thoroughly. Everyone will support you in this work, even your enemies."

Several weeks ago he came to me again. What had happened? His daughter, an employee in the financial section of a district administration office, had been accepting bribes in order to reduce the amount of taxes in the tax records of a certain group of gardeners. The matter had come out into the open. I understand the father's dismay and I understand the natural reaction of coming to me for help for his daughter. However, the law must be the same for everyone--harsh but just. I had to refuse his request to protect his daughter from justice, reminding him of his earlier words. I will not quote his reply. I will merely say that I lost a friend because of that conversation. Maybe I will gain others?

Another example. A lady belonging to the Warsaw party organization comes to me with a housing matter. She lives in a small apartment together with her husband and son. In her opinion, these are "exceptionally difficult living conditions," and she herself as a party member of 10 years standing has the right to demand that the party help her solve this problem quickly and effectively. She cannot live like this much longer. Her son is a bachelor and on the waiting list for a cooperative apartment.

I agree that one has to help young people obtain a roof of their own over their heads. I agree one has to do everything to shorten the waiting period for an apartment. But....

In the presence of the above party "member," a previous client presents her case once again at my request.

She has been living in a single-room apartment with no conveniences for 29 years--water comes from a well and the toilet is in the yard. At first there was just her husband and she. After the statutory 9 months a third person came, a son. The son grew up and got married, and first had one child and then another. The daughter-in-law is hard working and thrifty; one cannot say an evil word about her. Right now they are all living in the same room, six of them, but the women's husband says that there are others who live even worse, whereas in their family there is at least harmony. She would not have come to bother the party with her troubles, for times are difficult for the country and the country is in turmoil, were it not for the fact that her son has been waiting for an apartment for 12 years. So maybe the party could....

"What do you think of your housing problem now, comrade?" I ask the party client. "Whom in your opinion should the party help in this situation?"

The party "comrade," however, is not interested in the affairs of others. That is not her business. Brandishing her membership card, she threatens me that she will write and complain to the first secretary. "He will fix you," she cries. And as a farewell I hear: "One boor will always support another."

It is sad and shameful that a workers party has such members. Comrade Jaruzelski was right when he said in a recent TV interview that Poland is a rich country and a poor one at the same time. For look how poor we are in honesty, universal respect, workers' toil and peasants' sweat. How deeply rooted people's faith in the strength of their elbows, is, with infrequent faith in manual work and social justice. How often people break with their own conscience, forgetting that the party cannot send its conscience on vacation. How cleverly and slyly some of us are capable of "circumventing" the law, take advantages of laws and directives and so on.

Besides using typical arguments such as bad living conditions, a difficult family situation, abnormal crowding, small children, the right to extra living space, and so on, many of those asking for help in speeding up the allocation of an apartment often refer to our state's political principles, saying in extreme cases that "socialism should guarantee me this and that" or "the party should give me that thing or the other."

I do not think either the government or the party authorities shirk their responsibility in solving difficult affairs. If however something is in short supply, and there are not too many apartments in Poland, what there is has to be divided with exceptional care so as not to do an injustice to those who are the most needy. It is not money which should be the deciding factor here, or at least not money above everything else, but a feeling of social justice.

For example, I doubt whether a basic criterion for priority in the waiting list for apartments should be how soon a person pays the price of the apartment. Why? Because this hits at the poorer sections of the population, for how can one compare the situation of those who can afford to pay the entire sum at once with those who, forsaking food, accumulate the necessary sum over entire years?

To give an example, a building worker arrives in a beautiful new BMW. For 8 and 1/2 years he had been working abroad. He complains about his difficult living conditions. He has a wife and child, but only "one" room with kitchen. It is true that he has central heating, hot water and a bathroom, but the apartment is cramped. "If it goes on like this much longer," he says, "I will have to live at the railroad station or underneath a bridge. And yet they talk about socialism all the time on the radio and TV...."

What about socialism? He is a building worker, but, damn it [psiakrew], he does not want to roll up his sleeves. He has a luxury car with which he could buy a nice house, yet he holds out his hand to the state because people are entitled to aid. Of course they are. But the question is to whom, how much, why and what for. One also cannot take advantage of one's workers' background for purposes which are against the interest of society in general!

The economic collapse we are currently experiencing unfortunately has its own measurable costs and inevitable consequences. One should primarily help all of those who work for the nation's bread with the sweat of their brow and who guarantee an increase in production, stabilization and economic development. In a situation where many people live under very difficult conditions and where troubles and difficulties are multiplying, it is the citizen's duty to perceive the state's real possibilities, for not even the strongest horse will bear a burden that is beyond its strength and hooves and a tail are the most that will be left of him.

People write to us or come to us with various issues concerning trade, services, pensions, benefits, court decisions, work problems and personal relations. Sometimes they also complain about matters concerning the incorrect functioning of party cells and organizations. I regret to say that despite the commission's good work, many cases of insensitivity, arrogance, misuse of powers and ill treatment of clients still occur in most voivodships. I have even come across a case where information gleaned from a client has been used against that client's interests. For example, a director was told that a certain person had revealed unfavorable facts about him, and he then terminated that person's work contract under an arbitrary pretext. Practices like this are quite simply scandalous and impermissible.

It is the party's moral-political duty to meet working people's grievances halfway and help remove the sources of evil, social dissatisfaction and conflicts. And no justified human affair can lose because any such loss is a serious obstacle on the party's road to regaining the confidence of society and credibility. On the other hand, however, our commissions are not and will not be a platform for heated contests and the settling of private scores. Dealing with complaints requires not only insight and patience, but also an uncompromising attitude. It requires boldness to speak honestly at times when the person complaining is

not right, and also when there is a lack of objective possibilities for a favorable result.

The party's activities are aimed at creating a proper climate and definite political guarantees, but the party cannot take the place and does not wish to take the place of the appropriate state, self-management, social, administrative and factory bodies. However, as Wojciech Jaruzelski said at the Seventh PZPR Central Committee Plenum, "if injustice or human misfortune occurs during the allocation of apartments, the establishment of bonuses, in trade, or in an office, an honestly working Pole should know that the party will be his defender." I believe that the work of the Suggestions and Complaints Commission up to now shows that we are trying to put these guidelines to use in practice.

CSO: 2600/573

SOCIAL MESSAGE DURING PAPAL VISIT ANALYZED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 83 pp 135-149

[Article by Eulalia Sajdak-Michnowska: "The Social Teachings of John Paul II During the Visit to Poland This Year"]

[Text] This year's visit by John Paul II to our country also aroused understandable interest in the ranks of our party. The content of the ideological message that the pope delivered in his numerous statements has particular significance. An assessment of their contents requires critical research by the Marxist social sciences.

Below we present introductory reflections by religious scholar E. Sajdak-Michnowska, treating them as a nucleus for a discussion of this ideologically fundamental problem.

John Paul II made a pilgrimage to Poland in 1983 in order to commemorate the 600th anniversary of the presence of the image of the Czestochowa Madonna in Jasna Gora. This anniversary actually occurred a year earlier, but at that time it was not possible for the pope to travel to Poland and the visit was postponed, it being announced meanwhile that the Jasna Gora anniversary would last for an entire year. The pope thus arrived in Poland during the "Holy Year"--announced in March--which was devoted to reflecting upon the humanity and mission of Jesus in the 1950th anniversary of his death. This fact was strongly reflected in the sermons and speeches delivered by John Paul II, since the pope devoted a great deal of space in them to Christological considerations.

Several Theological Assumptions

As a theologian and philosopher, Karol Wojtyla--especially as a cardinal--was known for his Christocentric slant, which deviated from the Mariological model of Catholicism preferred in Poland by then primate Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. A majority of the of the widespread, nationwide Catholic ceremonies were concentrated around the worship of Mary; the primate, through his personal special reverence for Mary, provided an example for the clergy and for believers; and Polish Catholicism--through historical attitudes--linked this worship closely to a feeling of national identity. This theme of a mass, popular Catholicism

gradually received a certain counterweight in the tendencies expressed by enlightened circles among lay Catholics, especially those associated with the Krakow center, and also by part of the clergy. Cardinal Wojtyla gave strong support to this movement with his interpretation of the essence of Catholic conciliar renewal in the book entitled "U podstaw obnowy" [The Foundations for Renewal] (Krakow, 1972). Analyzing in this book the substance of the Priests' Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, which was most important for the church's "accomodata renovatio," Cardinal Wojtyla emphasized that it is saturated with Christocentrism, "which is the central reality of our faith." This was an important initiative for bringing closer to Polish Catholics the essential principles of the post-conciliar church's activity in the world. The Catholic Church decided to oppose anthropocentrically-oriented secular humanism with Christocentrism as a perfected anthropocentrism, since it was enriched with a supernatural dimension, with the relationship to God. In this concept, Jesus was to constitute a model of the perfection of man, who acts on earth to transform it into God's Kingdom. In order for human activity to obtain a higher meaning, it must be associated with the imitation of Jesus: the Catholic Church "finds the key, center, and goal of all human history (...) in its Lord and Teacher," according to section 10 of the Priests' Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.

Pope Wojtyla took up this idea of the need for a change of emphasis in forming the religious attitudes of modern people in his first encyclical, "Redemptor hominis" (1979), which was concerned with the presence of Christianity in the world of the late 20th century, which is being transformed more and more rapidly. In carrying out God's command "make the earth subordinate to you," man is doing it in an imperfect way, since he is a sinful being, and only the Catholic Church --as a sign of the connection between the believers and Christ--can lead humanity to the truth. This assumption of the encyclical "Redemptor hominis" suggests and justifies the need for the church's evangelical mission and for expanding its influence in the modern world. In order to justify this necessity, the pope recalls at length in his first encyclical the threats and alienations of modern civilization, and also of modern sociopolitical systems. In awaiting the third millenium of the existence of Christianity, the Catholic Church seeks to convince everyone that only belief in the Savior is becoming the sole guarantee of the dignity and freedom of modern man. In order to emphasize man's helplessness in resolving the fundamental existential questions, John Paul II, in "Redemptor hominis," recalled both the modern threats of civilization, political ones, and also the menace of death--the consequences of sin, which cannot be overcome without God's grace. The sending of the Savior to the world was a visible sign of this divine grace and mercy: "The redemption that came through Christ has given man his last dignity and meaning to his existence in the world, a meaning that has to a considerable extent been lost through sin" ("Redemptor hominis," No 10). The Catholic Church is fulfilling its mission of leading man--especially modern man--to the union with God that gives meaning to his existence.

In this vision of the church as a teacher leading humanity toward a happier 21st century, John Paul II cites the expression of Paul VI, who called Mary the Mother of the Church, and emphasizes that the worship of the Mother of God allows the church to become particularly close to man and to all his affairs.

The presence of this worship therefore constitutes a guarantee of the church's union with every person eager for love and hope, and makes the church "the Church of God's People" (section 22). Today people are helped to understand that Christ is "the Lord of man's history" by the worship of the Mother of the Redeemer, as the most widespread one, bearing people's faith, hope, and love. Thus, in concluding his first encyclical, John Paul II proclaims the worship of the Mother of God as a medium for the Catholic Church's presence in the modern world.

The pope spoke in the same spirit in his second encyclical ("Dives et misericordia," 1980), calling Mary "the Mother of mercy" (section 9). The worship of the Mother of God has particular significance for people who suffer from poverty, a lack of freedom, or sin; it is especially fruitful for the church in view of "the special capacity for reaching all those who accept precisely this compassionate love most easily from the Mother" (ibid).

Treating the worship of maternity and motherly love as especially socially useful, John Paul II devoted separate paragraphs to it in both of his encyclicals. In the third encyclical, devoted to human labor ("Laborem exercens," 1981), we no longer find such special attention to the worship of the Mother of God. Instead, there is a paragraph that especially emphasizes Jesus's personal example for modern man ("Christ--the man of labor," No 26). In reflecting on the human transformation of the world, John Paul II cites the continuation through work of "the divine act of creation" and man's dignity as a result of this. As a result of "creating the world," aspirations to dignity arise in man in social relations--and not hopes for compassion. Thus, first place in the encyclical "Laborem exercens" was given to the divine creation and human activity of Jesus-God-Man, instead of an invocation to "compassionate love." After all, the scientific-technical context of the pope's awareness, presented in the encyclical on human labor, permitted turning to people who are aware of the extent of their work, proud of the achievements of reason, and expecting an affirmation of their work--precisely through a comparison with the work of God the Creator. John Paul II answered this expectation of affirmation by bringing to the fore the work of the Creator and the work of the divine carpenter.

Often brought up through the criticisms of Western experts and "defenders" of Catholicism who are ill-disposed toward the Polish pope, the alleged Mariological inclination of John Paul II can be defended in the light of his statements directed toward the large masses of believers. An analysis of the assumptions of such an attitude from the pope toward those waiting for his words--supported by knowledge of his position on the worship of Mary and of the Christocentrism initiated by him--indicates sociotechnical assumptions, a conscious launching of the worship of Mary as a sign of the union in love of Christians. This is a citing of the mass bases for religiousness, codified in the life experience of a majority of the believers, while simultaneously steering Christianity toward values taking over the conscious constructive values of the new civilization: work, peace, solidarity, and social justice. We can also construct such a vision of the role of Catholicism in the modern world on the basis of John Paul II's statements during his recent trip to Poland.

The Worship of Mary and Christocentrism

John Paul II cited the symbol of the Mother--a suffering mother deserving special love--as early as his arrival speech at the airport: he used this symbol to link to considerations that brought about his visit to Poland--the anniversary of the Lady of Jasna Gora and the sufferings of the Motherland. In view of these sufferings, the pope declared a special love for his Motherland, which Poland can expect from all of its children. John Paul II called the kiss of his country's soil a "kiss of peace" for everyone identifying himself with the goals of his pilgrimage, a kiss of peace for Poland.

In a sermon delivered in the Cathedral of St. John in Warsaw, John Paul II barely mentioned the special reverence of the late Primate Wyszynski for Mary, concentrating on depicting his services in the development of the Catholic Church in Poland. Cardinal Wyszynski's sufferings in prison, to which the pope returned several times, became in this sermon not so much a parable for those presently suffering in Poland as a metaphor for the suffering of modern man, who cannot manage to penetrate the meaning of his humanity. This meaning was given to the pope's words by the predominance in this sermon of references to the Year of the Redeemer, which the pope announced in the 1950th anniversary of the redemption of the world by the martyrdom of Jesus. The pope emphasized that the late primate of Poland served the redemption of the world by bringing believers closer to Jesus. In his absolute devotion to the service of Jesus and His Church, the "prisoner of love" for the Mother of God, Cardinal Wyszynski, was a model of free man, the pope stated. True freedom was very closely linked in this manner to the identification of man with religion.

Thus, at the very beginning of his instruction of believers during his pilgrimage to Poland, the pope shifted emphasis significantly: the most important problem became the future association of the emotions of believers with the Redeemer, with the "lord of the future age," as he emphasized again in a sermon at Decade Stadium in Warsaw. Jesus becomes closer to Poles through Mary: "The Christocentric feature of our Christianity was profoundly united with the worship of Mary, the maternal feature." People seek access to Jesus through Mary, but only union with the Redeemer can give full humanity, "victory over oneself," which also means "the capacity for forgiveness."

This transition from the love and maternal care of Mary, which Primate Wyszynski usually stressed, from the feeling of safety under the protection of the Mother of God to the necessity of confirming one's Christian commitment by deeds, was needed by the pope in his instruction of the believers in order to instill in them a certainty of victory. Through the mention of the "Vienna victory" and the words of Jan III that "Deus vicit!", with at the same time a parable for those suffering today and for a compact abbreviation of Polish history, the pope constructed a vision of the future triumph of Christians: not over the weakness of the human personality, nor over the threats of the future, nor over the forces that are causing the sufferings of Poles today.... In this Warsaw sermon, the famous ambiguity of ecclesiastical language was probably brought to perfection. Let us make use of the following extensive quotation: "Man is called," the pope says, "to victory over himself, to a victory over what constrains our free will and makes it subject to evil. Such a victory means living

in truth, the integrity of conscience, love of one's neighbor, the capacity for forgiveness, and the spiritual development of our humanity. In recent months I have received many letters from various people, including people in prison. These letters were often an inspiring demonstration for me of precisely such internal victories, about which one can say, 'Deus vicit.' God has been victorious in man, since a Christian is called to victory in Jesus Christ. Such a victory is inseparable from hardship and even suffering, just as the resurrection of Christ is inseparable from the cross. And as Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski stated, someone who loves and forgives, who like Christ gives his heart and even his life for his brethren, has already won, even if he lies trampled on the ground (sermon, 24 June 1966). The people have also won victories in the course of their history, in which they rejoice--just as they rejoice this year in the Vienna victory--but on the other hand, they suffer defeats, which hurt them. There have been many such defeats in the course of recent centuries. We would not tell the whole truth if we asserted that these were only political defeats, even the loss of independence. They were also moral defeats: the decline of morality in the Saxon times, the loss of sensitivity to the common good, and even reprehensible crimes against one's own fatherland. (...) The history of the people is incorporated into our national anniversary of six centuries of the presence of Poland's Mary the Queen in Jasna Gora. Victories and defeats are also profoundly reflected there. It is from there that the summons continually comes not to submit to defeat, but to seek paths to victory. Christ is 'the Father of the future age,' and the Kingdom of God goes beyond the dimensions of worldly affairs. At the same time, however, Christ is 'yesterday and today'--and here he meets each of us, with man in every generation, and he also meets the people, which is a union of people. From this meeting comes the summons to a victory in truth, freedom, justice, and love, about which John XXIII speaks in the encyclical 'Pacem in terris.' (...) I am renewing my weapon of the peace that continually flows from the Apostolic See to all peoples and states (...) The striving for victory, a noble victory, a victory obtained by hardship and the cross, a victory even through defeats, is part of the Christian program for man's life, and also for the life of a people. (...) Above all, a people must live through its own forces and develop through its own forces. It must win by itself the victory that Divine Providence grants it at this stage in history. We all realize that this is not a question of military victory, like 300 years ago, but of victory of a moral nature. It is precisely this which constitutes the essence of the renewal that has been proclaimed many times. This is a question of a mature order in the life of the people and the state, in which the basic rights of man are respected. Only a moral victory can bring a society out of collapse and restore its unity. Such an order can be a victory for the governed and the governing at the same time. It is necessary to reach it through the path of mutual dialogue and understanding, the only path that will allow the people to live with full civil rights and possess social structures that correspond to its proper requirements; this will elicit the support which the state needs in order for it to be able to carry out its tasks and through which the people really expresses its sovereignty."

At the same time, the pope's words calling upon his countrymen to work and take responsibility for the fate of the fatherland recall numerous downfalls in the people's historical development, advise of the responsibility for these defeats,

and also express a profound hope that a renewal of the country's best capabilities is possible. Here the religious references are supposed to serve not only to justify the hope for final success in the work on national renewal, but also to remind believers that God is the foundation for statehood. This purpose is served, among other things, by a reference to John XXIII's encyclical on peace, which--although it was addressed to "all people of good will," not just believers--said that only God can be the unshakable foundation of the social order ("The source for the existence of human society and a proper social order is God."--section 16.) This is precisely the foundation for society's hope to achieve a proper social system, and it is the fundamental prerequisite for a dialogue with the authorities; it is from this that the Christian obligation to love and forgive is derived. Nevertheless, the listeners, without taking into account this religious context, received wise instruction from a statesman calling for a social effort to maintain the country's independence and ensure its autonomous development. The historical, moral, and political content of the pope's speech constituted the independent value of his message to the people--the influence on religious emotions was supposed to arouse their will. For the Christian, belief in the Redeemer is supposed to be a guarantee of the Promised Land--a victory won by the efforts of man, who rationally overcomes existing limitations.

On Work

It is worth noting that such an interpretation of the social role of religion deviates a great deal from the traditional prayers for assistance and divine protection. One could also perceive a certain lack of understanding of the essence of the papal message by the believers, who expected a different inspiration in the sermons of John Paul II. Some pious believers were even surprised that the pope was calling them to work, to creative effort, instead of to the practice of pious gestures. The believers have heard fairly little about the encyclical "Laborem exercens," and did not think that in the Catholic Church's social doctrine work had now become the basis for the dignity of man, the basis of social life. The pope recalled the principles of his encyclical on human labor, frequently referring to the fundamental social role of workers, to the significance of religion in giving work a higher meaning, and to the necessity of proclaiming the "gospel of work and peace" in times when "the civilization of death" rules. The pope urged Polish society to be aware of the value of work in a world which is "shaken by so many different conflicts, full of so many different contradictions, where a variety of injustices dominate and an unjust division of goods occurs, which gives rise to tensions and struggle" (the greeting to the Szczecin diocese).

In assessing the worldly value of labor, however, the pope emphasized its connection with religion, its eschatological dimension, and he especially praised the close bond between the Polish working people and the church. Such emphases occurred in the sermon in Niepokalanow, where the pope chiefly addressed the peasants. The pope similarly stressed the value of work on the land in Poznan and Warsaw. John Paul II discussed blue-collar workers--proclaiming the "gospel of work, justice, and social love"--mainly in his Katowice sermon, at the Muchowiec airport. In Poznan, Wroclaw, and Krakow, the pope addressed both industrial workers, and the intelligentsia working for industry and in centers for the education and upbringing of youth. The pope outlined a broader vision

of labor--in reference to the encyclical "Laborem exercens"--in his speech to the Polish episcopate in Jasna Gora.

If we assume that all of the pope's statements during his pilgrimage to Poland --overlooking the obvious necessity of repetitions, especially of certain religious contents--essentially constituted one sermon, then the problem of work was particularly stressed in this teaching. Consequently, it is worthwhile to make a more detailed examination of this social teaching by John Paul II in the context of his own encyclical on human labor, the evolution of the social doctrine of the Catholic Church, and also the social situation in Poland, in view of which the pope modified certain contents of "Laborem exercens."

The pope stressed the value of labor in the people's life in his Warsaw sermon at the Stadium of the 10th Anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, calling attention to the splendid work in the rebuilding of Warsaw and the need to build the future without relying on foreign assistance. In Niepokalanow he praised the fact that thanks to the work of the peasant, the land, which gives rise to thorns and thistles, also gives people bread. John Paul II turned to the representatives of the Szczecin diocese with a reminder of the work of the generations who, integrated by religion, created the Polish state between the Oder and the Baltic. For today, the pope wished them peace and courage, strongly emphasizing that the dignity of the work of the worker of Wybrzeze was recalled in connection with ideals and religious symbolism, since the "question of the meaning of human labor, of its very essence" has to do with the basic principles "that have their beginning in God." During the whole ceremonial jubilee in Jasna Gora, Pope John Paul II returned in a significant manner to this idea of the connection between work and God. Specifically, he stated that man becomes a free being as a member of the church, which means that in this freedom God has called upon him to create, and not to destroy. He further linked human dignity to freedom and work for the common good, which should be organized by a sovereign state. At the end of his speech on 19 June 1983, he addressed the Polish episcopate about special consideration for the social science of the church, and especially for the problem of labor, which "lies at the very center of this science." A development of this statement was contained in John Paul II's sermon to the Silesian pilgrims, delivered the following day, which contained the most important contents of this "gospel of work" that the pope sought to convey in his fatherland.

Referring to "Laborem exercens," the pope told the Polish bishops that he had always been convinced that the Catholic concept of work, as part of the church's social teachings, "does not miss but rather meets the true aspirations of working people (...) one one hand it emphasizes the solidarity of working people, and on the other the need for genuine solidarity with working people." On this subject, John Paul II referred to his own experiences as a manual laborer when he worked in the Solvay factory during the occupation.

The Concept of the "Solidarity of Working People"

Developing the thought that the Catholic doctrine of labor emphasizes at the same time the solidarity of working people and the need for solidarity with workers, the pope referred to his speech at a session of the International

Labor Organization (Geneva, 1982), in which he defined the content of the concept of "solidarity." Let us add that a similar understanding of this term--linked with the concept of a "social dialogue"--was emphasized in John Paul II's proclamation on the 16th World Peace Day (1 January 1983). Specifically, the pope thinks that "solidarity has to overthrow the foundations for hatred, ego-tism, and injustice, which are too often elevated to the dignity of ideological principles or even fundamental laws of social life. Within the framework of this same community of labor, solidarity leads rather to discovering the requirements for unity lying in the nature of work, instead of tendencies toward division and antagonism. Solidarity is opposed to understanding society in terms of the struggle 'against,' and to understanding social relationships in terms of the uncompromising antagonism of classes. Solidarity, which takes its start and its strength from the nature of human labor, and thus from the primacy of the human person over things, will be able to create an instrument for dialogue and cooperation allowing resolution of the conflicts without a desire to destroy the opponent. No, the assertion that the world of labor can be made a world of justice is not a utopia" (quotation from John Paul II's speech in Geneva).

The understanding of the concept of "solidarity" was portrayed differently, however, in section 8 of the encyclical "Laborem exercens": "The Solidarity of Working People." John Paul II asserted there that the great burst of solidarity among working people in the 19th century, or the so-called worker question, was a reaction "against the degradation of man as a subject of work, combined with an unheard-of exploitation in the area of wages, working conditions, and concern for the person of the worker, which united the working world in a community of great solidarity." Citing the encyclical "Rerum novarum" (1891) and other church documents, John Paul II emphasized that "from the point of view of social morality, this was a proper reaction to the entire system of injustice, wrongs 'crying to the heavens for revenge,' that burdened the worker during the period of abrupt industrialization." And although social development smoothed out flagrant exploitation in many countries, and workers often obtained influence over social legislation and working conditions, "flagrant injustices" nevertheless still exist. Thus, new fronts are opening up in worker solidarity and solidarity with working people, with the aim of "achieving social justice in different parts of the world." "Such a solidarity should always occur where it is demanded by social degradation of the subject of labor, exploitation of workers and growing areas of poverty, and even outright hunger."

In analyzing these differences in John Paul II's understanding of the concept of "solidarity" in 1981, 1982, and 1983, it is worthwhile to call attention first to the fact that it was only Pope Wojtyla who brought the concept of the "solidarity of working people" into the Catholic Church's social doctrine in his encyclical on human labor. Previously--from the "Rerum novarum" of Pope Leo XIII, through the "Quadragesimo anno" of Pius XI (1931) and the further social teaching of the Catholic Church--the popes dealt with the "worker question" from the aspect of reconciling it with the existence of class society, and leading to an agreement between the owners of the means of production and the hirelings selling their labor. In the literature these aspirations were named by instituting the concept of class solidarism, while one should recall that they had to be combined with fighting the Marxist concept of the class struggle and refuting the class assumptions of trade unions. Perceiving the

poverty of the workers and the unjust social system, Catholic social science voiced the possibility of surmounting social conflict by practicing Christian love and using the apparatus of the state to eliminate worker "conspiracies" (see "Rerum novarum," part II, section 2). The main emphasis in this doctrine was placed on defending private property. The encyclical "Laborem exercens," however, also considers private ownership of the means of production a good basis for the social order--nevertheless, the most important problem in it is work as the center of social life. It was because of this that a well-known French theologian, the creator of the theology of labor (only proclaimed in 1955), the Dominican M.-D. Chenu, could state that since "Laborem exercens" work (in place of ownership) has become the "keystone" of the church's social doctrine. In this situation of a complete affirmation of human labor by Catholicism, the pope also assessed the workers' struggle for the dignity of labor in the 19th century. He did this in the context of the struggle against injustice--including unemployment--and of seeking social justice in agreement with Christian morality. In this manner, the class solidarity of workers inspired by Marxism to fight for the emancipation of labor was recognized by John Paul II as a morally correct resistance to the social consequences of "violation of the dignity of human labor."

Referring Not Only to Socialist Thought

It is worth noting, however, that this assessment by Pope Wojtyla of worker solidarity was found considerably earlier as a suggestion on the pages of the monthly WIEZ (1967, No 4). Specifically, Bohdan Cywinski proposed that the official ethical code of the Catholic Church be enriched with an important virtue developed and practiced by the workers' movement--the solidarity of working people in the struggle against social evil. This suggestion resulted from an earnest analysis of the ideological heritage of Polish socialism, especially Ludwik Krywicki (see "Rodowody niepokornych" [The Genealogy of the Unsubmissive], 1971, B. Cywinski). Cywinski felt that the enrichment of the Catholic Church's social science with such an important practical norm for love of one's neighbor as the socialist principle of solidarity in struggle would be a good medium for the church to reach worker circles....

Taking over the value of the ethos of the left--solidarity in the struggle for social justice--in "Laborem exercens," John Paul II placed it in the Catholic social ethic. There was no lack in this same encyclical, however, of thoughts about the necessity of "uniting labor with the ownership of capital as much as possible" (section 14). The pope justifies such a possibility by arguing the close connection between capital, which is the sum of the technical heritage of mankind, and the labor creating this "set of the means of production." Capital cannot exist without labor, which creates it, and both these values are mutually governing; it is thus almost impossible to separate capital from labor, and the people who stand behind these concepts cannot oppose each other (sections 13 and 14). Thus, in "Laborem exercens," the concept of class solidarity is oddly combined with an affirmation of the struggle for the emancipation of labor--while the concept of worker solidarity has been preserved here in accordance with the proletarian understanding of the term.

In his speech at Jasna Gora in 1983, John Paul II used the new interpretation of the concept of the "solidarity of working people," combining this concept with his statement in 1982 and the solidaristic views (which were, however, expressed without using the term "solidarity") from "Laborem exercens." The pope now states that the solidarity of working people is based on seeking and emphasizing what unites them in their work, and knowing how to resolve conflicts without destroying the opponent, through a dialogue and cooperation. The pope makes a sharp distinction between solidarity and the idea of struggle, especially the class struggle. This is a concept of solidarity in work, of a union of people through work in the cooperative improvement of the world. In completing this thought, John Paul II refers to a book by Cardinal Wyszyński--"Duch pracy ludzkiej" [The Spirit of Human Labor], 1946), in which the late primate emphasized that work is cooperation with God, and at the same time a social obligation.

This citing of "Duch pracy ludzkiej" should be treated as symptomatic, not just because in his encyclical on labor the pope completely ignored the efforts of the modern theologians who created the theology of labor and led to its being incorporated into the life of the church through the documents of Vatican II and later publications. As is well known, there was such a precedent--in the encyclical "Populorum progressio" Paul VI cited not only Holy Scripture and the traditions of the church, but also modern theologians, but the problem of labor was especially fitted for an assessment in the current efforts. Thus, the reference to the book by Primate Wyszyński, together with the date of its preparation, means both acceptance of its content--actually close to the inspirations of "Laborem exercens"--and especially the social consequences of the pastoral work conducted in this spirit in Poland, and at the same time its being drawn into the further work of the Catholic Church in our country. The pope stated that in pastoral activity the Polish episcopate should remember that "it is a question of the spirit of human labor, and also of its social form." The completion of this thought appears to have a particularly fundamental connection with the earlier thoughts on solidarity--the pope added, "The problem of trade unions in their genuine form has its roots in both." It seems that this description--in the speech to the episcopate defining the aims of future pastoral work in Poland--gives a better interpretation of the meaning of the definition of the concept of "solidarity" in the spirit of dialogue and Christian love.

Let us further note that the "genuine solidarity with working people" that the pope declared in his speech was not developed further except in the statement that the possibility of "making the world of labor a world of justice" is not utopian. Consequently, the main emphasis in this work has been placed on the aims of pastoral work in the spirit of "the gospel of work" that were emphasized at the end of the pope's speech to the episcopate. It was thus not by accident that on the following day--when the pope met with people doing the heaviest kind of work at "Czarny Slask"--the subject of labor dominated the pope's sermon in his speech at the airport in Muchowie.

On the Moral Order

The pope strongly emphasized his ties with the Piekary Mother of God sanctuary, and his knowledge of the Silesian people's union of prayer and hard work. John

Paul II designated the worship of the Mother of God in Piekary as the worship of "the Mother of justice and social love." Returning many times to this definition, the pope said that "justice and social love are formed" through work, to the extent that it is "governed by a proper moral order." The proper moral order is based on the religious order, and the worship of the "Mother of justice and social love" in Silesia is a visible sign that people who do hard work are governed by such an order. This was confirmed by the events of the 1980's, the pope said, in which "above all, it had to do with the moral order. There was also the striking fact that these events were free of violence, and no one suffered death or wounds through them. Finally, there is also the fact that the events in the Polish labor world in the 1980's bore pronounced religious characteristics." These words are a symptom of a failure to remember the casualties brought by the "events of the 1980's," since in conclusion the pope calls for prayer for "those who recently perished in the tragic events." Such a construction of his statement, however, makes it possible for the pope to separate the actions against social injustice, conducted--in the pope's opinion --in the name of the religious moral order and without violence, from the casualties suffered by those defending the "Mother of justice and social love".

This is the fundamental meaning of the totality of the thoughts of John Paul II on the "gospel of labor" that he preached in Poland and ordered the Polish episcopate to continue to preach. A reconstruction of the essence of the "gospel of labor" in Poland makes clear its ideological meaning: 1) defense of the religious principles for social life and the religious meaning of work was the reason for the events of August 1980 and the following years; 2) these were actions in the spirit of justice and social love, without the use of force; 3) they were suppressed by force; 4) the idea of the class struggle, as a source of hatred, has to be overcome through solidarity, which is cooperation in a spirit of love in order to improve the world; 5) a guarantee for improving the world in a spirit of love is religious upbringing, which is conducted by the Catholic Church, and the social science of the church gives value and meaning to work by defining its relations to God and its social obligations; 6) as a result of the lack of a religious moral order in social life, "injustice creeps in in place of justice, and hatred in place of love"; 7) normalization can occur in Poland through a dialogue between the government and society, to which working people have a right, since they create goods necessary for life. The pope ends the argument for a dialogue with an invocation to "the Mother of social justice, that these basic principles of the social order, on which the true meaning of human labor depends and together with it the meaning of man's existence, may become the real pattern for social life in our country, since man is not capable of working if he does not see any meaning in work, if this meaning ceases to be clear to him, and if it is somehow veiled from him." Thus the dialogue between the government and society is supposed to take place under the care of the Mother of justice and social love, in order to bring the religious moral order into the social life of Poland.

On Dialogue

Let us note here that the concept of a "dialogue," which appeared only a few times during the pope's pilgrimage to Poland, bore precisely the following meaning: a true dialogue is "the dialogue between man and God" or a "social

dialogue," in which reconciliation with people can only occur through reconciliation with God. "The victory of the moral nature," based on "a mature order in national and social life," can revive the people, and this must be attained by "the path of mutual dialogue and understanding" between the government and society. The guardian of the purity of this dialogue and its correct meaning will obviously be the Catholic Church, whose evangelic mission consists of leading all people to union with God.

The concept expressed in the pope's statements for instituting the "gospel of labor" in Poland and the associated concept for the dialogue between society and the government essentially constitute a program for the Catholic Church's total supervision over the entirety of the social life in our country, since the Church would have to be the main legislator on just social relations, the guarantor of their being practiced by society, and the mainstay of the dignity of the worker and of the legality of the government's actions. The church's knowledge of God's intentions and commands for action would have to become the principle for the social functioning of all the citizens of the country, regardless of their world views. Belief in the Christian God would be the starting and ending point of all social undertakings, which would be programmed in accordance with the principles of religion and under the supervision of the church, which, however, would not thereby accept responsibility for their consequences, because since the Second Vatican Council, the Church has been disassociating itself from direct participation in the government. According to the pope's concept, however, only the Catholic Church in Poland can guarantee that society will function correctly, and only religion in Poland presents values and norms that will inspire the religious working people of the cities and villages to work, be law-abiding, and defend their social privileges.

On this basis, the concept of the dialogue between the government and society--which essentially emphasizes the radical gap between the two major sides not only in the sphere of politics and ideology, but also chiefly in the sphere of world views--appears to be particularly harmful. The people's government in Poland was in this manner denied its basic unity with society, and was portrayed as essentially alien to Polish society, thus requiring the Catholic Church's mediation to reach an understanding with the people--even not so much in social matters as especially in finding an ideological medium to elicit activity from the Poles.

For this purpose it was necessary to present worker solidarity as a heritage from the ideology and practice of Catholicism--an obvious deviation from the historical truth. For this purpose the pope interpreted worker solidarity as social solidarism--which in the short term may be an attractive call for social love, but which nevertheless bears a concept of love for all those who enrich themselves through other people's labor, as if the pope is using his authority to support private ownership of the means of production. For this purpose, the pope presented the struggle of Polish workers for their social and political identity as a defense of the religious nature of society against an atheistic government. For this purpose, the pope presented the Catholic Church in Poland as the only source of inspiration for a just social order worthy of high ideals.

Adaptation of Earlier Ideas

Before 1965, the church's official social doctrine did not contain the prerequisites necessary for acting as the champion of the principles of social justice.

As early as 1955, M.-D. Chenu urged including the theology of labor in Catholic teaching, so that believers cease to be inspired by the Marxist affirmation of human labor. In "Rerum novarum" and later, all the way up to the encyclicals of the good pope John XXIII, the Catholic Church taught believers that social justice requires preserving private ownership of the means of production and the existence of classes. The dialogue proclaimed by John XXIII was supposed to be conducted for the purposes of improving reality in practical activities, chiefly for defending peace. Later it was also assigned the goal of evangelizing all structures in modern society. The trade unions--whose sphere of activity was reduced by the pope in his speeches to the Poles to his own recommendations in "Laborem exercens" not to be subordinated to parties and political activity, but rather to serve exclusively for the social defense of the workers--arose at the initiative of the organized workers' movement, and it was only later that Leo XIII urged the formation of Christian unions in order to rescue them from the influence of the socialists. The defense of the social privileges of the world of labor in the official social doctrine of Catholicism never went beyond those already won by organized workers. In the sphere of ideals, on the other hand, we will recall only that the so-called "aggiornamento" of Catholicism initiated by John XXIII before the council led at the council to a recognition of the value of human activity--including work and its results--that was termed a "return to anthropocentrism," and to an appreciation of the secular world. The church finally had to adjust itself to the changed mentality of people, a mentality greatly influenced by the noble ideals of humanism. It was only after this change--at the beginning of the 1970's--that the church could aspire to the role of the ideology of modern man.

Axiological Perspective

In conclusion, let us dwell on the values that the pope recommended to our society in the so-called Jasna Gora appeal, which was addressed mainly to youth. Above all, such a value is religion and a religious attitude: belief in the love of God. Next, there is conscience: opposition to evil, to the universal defects that demoralize society. Further, the pope cited love of one's neighbor, interpreted as "basic solidarity among people," in reference especially to solidarity with those recently interned and imprisoned. Poland as a value was placed in the context of freedom as a precious gift from God. The pope also placed the legacy of generations in the ranks of the values, appealing to the believers to enrich this legacy. Truth was named at the end of this register. The pope also expressed concern for the future of youth and understanding for its sufferings.

In this axiological system, recommended to youth as a foundation for educating mankind--essential on the economic, social, and political levels--our attention is attracted by the absence of a basic value, human labor: an absence that is completely unexpected after the proclamation of the "gospel of labor in Poland." A value widely propagandized by the pope, social justice, was also absent. The essential values for modern man, peace and dialogue, were also absent.

Dwelling on the content and structure of the system of values proposed today for Polish society by the Catholic Church, we note that a transcendent value was put in first place--relating human activity to an ideal that is not of this earth. Yes, but at the same time, an ideal that allows bringing the role of the church to the first place in social life. In this program, the pronounced ecclesiocentrism is related to an attempt to discount the fundamental social aspirations of our people. The reaction of the masses to the pope's teachings demonstrated that these aspirations were correctly interpreted. This reaction should be reanalyzed once again in terms of the Marxist concept of religion.

9909

CSO: 2600/271

ILLEGAL PRINTING PRESS DISCOVERED IN SZCZECIN

LD171833 Szczecin Domestic Service in Polish 1610 GMT 17 Jan 84

[Interview granted by Colonel Gustaw Wielinski of the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office in Szczecin to unidentified reporter--date and place not given; live or recorded]

[Text] [Wielinski] On 13th and 14th of this month, the security services uncovered and detained people engaged in printing and distributing illegal publications in Szczecin.

The first case concerns a printing press located in the apartment of Andrzej L., who, note, has already been punished for taking advantage of the act of clemency and not stopping his activity. He failed to reveal his activity up to 31 December and continued that activity. In this apartment we uncovered, besides all the equipment, particularly frames, printer's ink and printing materials for printing a large amount of underground literature, illegal literature, which continued to be distributed among and by people active in the underground.

Three people were involved in the printing: the aforementioned Andrzej L. and also Grzegorz O. and Konrad E. all three have been arrested. As regards the two distributing points, they were in the [?press] warehouse of the "Ruch" press and book distributing enterprise in Szczecin on (Czacki) street; the other point was in the apartment of one of the employees of that enterprise, Teresa M. in the warehouse belonging to that enterprise, the woman head of the distributing point was warehouse manageress Aleksandra J. All these people have been arrested by the decision of the voivodship prosecutor in Szczecin. The investigation of this affair is being carried out by the investigation department of the security services of the voivodship internal affairs office in Szczecin under the supervision of the prosecutor's office.

To come back to the distributing points: a total of about 1,800 copies of the MAZOWSZE weekly of various dates were kept there. The last date was 5 January 1984.

[Reporter] Can people still active in the underground give themselves up at present, although the amnesty deadline has already expired?

[Wielinski] Of course. First it is a matter of giving up the activity. The law guarantees that they will be treated leniently; it stipulates as follows, that anyone who gives up his activity in conflict with the law and reveals its circumstances, can count on exceptional mitigation of punishment or even on its being waived. However, as opposed to previously, there must be legal proceedings and the court will decide on the matter.

CSO: 2600/575

ARMY DAILY CONDEMNS UNDERGROUND PUBLICATION

AU041820 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Dec 83 p 2

[Commentary signed 'Kirkor': "For Whom Does the Blackbird Sing?"]

[Excerpts] The underground opposition bulletin called KOS [blackbird] occupies a special place in the anti-Polish crusade as it specializes in attacking the Polish People's Armed Forces, strikes at the Polish tradition of arms, and violates the uniform and the name of the Polish soldier.

I realize that it is a special weapon in the hands of the opponent and its motto does not, therefore, surprise me, a motto that was assigned to it by the "great transoceanic indoctrinator" himself--Zbigniew Brzezinski. It goes as follows:When other blows miss their mark, then it is necessary to dis-mantle the army's armor-plating. The best way to do this--is from the center!" Nicely said, is it not?

Nor am I especially surprised by the contents of the publication's ammunition stockpile. It comprises small-caliber epithets; small, medium and large, far-reaching white lies; and skillfully directed blows that are full of slander and provocation.

One thing I do not understand is why this publication's editors insert such realistic photographs from a lifestyle that is foreign to us; is it because it is from the U.S. way of life? It is a very strange kind of graft: I look at these slides and I see a ranch--in Massachusetts, let us say--which the double-dealing publishers of this "patriotic publication" tries to tell me is a stud farm in Janow.

It was enough for the NEW YORK TIMES to recently reprimand the U.S. troops stationed in Lebanon for the growing alcoholism and drug addiction in their ranks for KOS to also draw up an almost "identical" copy of the idea and adapt it to the professional cadres of our armed forces.

Shortly after the U.S. Armed Forces imposed a strict ban on the possession of any kind of procommunist publications, the artful dodgers from KOS began to call for the ZOLNIERZ POLSKI weekly to be boycotted, as well as the "Muzyka i Aktualnosci" [Music and Current Events] radio program, and the "Prostych Pytan" [Straight Questions] television program on TVP, which had gone off the air for a year already.

As soon as some New York publisher had rebuked some U.S. Army officers for the excessive "epithetmania" in relation to their subordinates, the boys from KOS immediately wheeled out their guns and made an almighty bang by attributing our professional cadres with the kind of "linguistic didactics" that are unknown to experienced foreign currency black marketeers or gangs of thieves and robbers.

Military history is no different. The "political experts" from KOS are trying to convince Poles and our army with Benedictine patience that "Poland and the Warsaw Pact have an aggressive defense budget and rapacious intentions." And who knows if it was not under precisely the influence of this reasoning that a terrified American woman in Alabama woke her husband one night with the ominous news that she believed a...communist submarine had appeared in their home aquarium.

And so it is that at the time of a domestic crisis and during the imposition of Western sanctions, we are receiving, free of charge, a sonic depth finder [echosonda] of U.S. pathology as well as an osmotic kind of plagiarism all our own instead of fodder for our broiler hens. Our underground "activists" are trying their best to convince us that the humanitarian West has not suspended the "most-favored-nation clause" regarding the suffering Polish nation in one sphere--in the propagation of frustration.

However, it was not long ago that KOS managed to pull an exceptionally cynical hoax, a stunt that even when overlooking the political derision of the fact itself, disparages it with the semblance of ethics and morality and borders on paranoia. And so, a Polish astronaut, the conqueror of the cosmos, is imputed with allegedly murdering a man from his helicopter while he was hunting.

I ponder on the political and humanitarian corrosion that exudes from this pseudo Polish opposition publication and my thoughts lead me to realize how true the following well-known maxim really is: "...Hatred comprises an imperfection just as poison is an ingredient of medicine." The blustering traitors and manipulators from KOS would rather, it seems, not remember that it is not the wits that one has but it is what one does with them that is important, although it is also important to have some good sense as well.

I am haunted with a sad thought, in spite of myself, a thought that has emanated from deep reflection--when one eagerly listens for the tones of our native language, a language that has been passed down from generation to generation, but the heart and the mind no longer find either the meaning or the flavor of Polishness [polskosc] in it, then one is left with a painful vacuum, the barely perceptible dregs of withered feelings and a horrific astonishment.

CSO: 2600/578

MECHANIZED TROOP SCHOOL OFFICIAL DISCUSSES ITS ACTIVITIES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 48, 27 Nov 83 pp 5, 14

[Interview with Col Aleksander Berdychowski, deputy commandant for training, T. Kosciuszko Higher Officers' School for Mechanized Troops in Wroclaw, by Zdzislaw Czekerda; date and place not specified]

[Text] Interviewer: Over 17 years ago I passed the entrance examinations for the Mechanized Troops Officers School. So I was witness to and participated in its historical transformation.

[Answer] Col Berdychowski: There were more such historical moments in the 40-year history of our school--milestones which marked the favorable changes. You are referring here to the time at which we obtained the status of a higher school--precisely, it was on 23 March 1967. Truly an event of great importance. This decision meant new duties for the teaching-command cadre of the school and for its cadets, and created new opportunities.

[Question] Quite a few years have passed since then. How did the official decision to promote the school affect it?

[Answer] First of all, along with the status of a higher school came large changes in the studies program. The period of cadet training in the school was extended by a year. Many general and sociopolitical subjects, mandatory in higher civilian technical school, were added. And it would be no exaggeration to say that our cadets work much harder for their engineering degree than their colleagues in civilian schools.

[Question] What then, does a school that has entered the "Balzac age" offer its students?

[Answer] Despite these 40 years we are a school that is constantly young, consistently expanding and modernizing its teaching-scientific facilities. This dynamic expansion, and on the other hand the urge of the scientific-teaching and command cadre to improve their knowledge and skills, means that we are a modern, multi-departmental school, training graduates in five areas: mechanized troops, military reconnaissance, political, border guard troops, and physical education.

[Question] Which of these is most popular among the cadets?

[Answer] Without a doubt the general-command and reconnaissance. But there are also very many who are interested in the other areas.

[Question] What attracts the youth to professional military service, which is, after all, difficult and requires a great deal of sacrifice?

[Answer] We, too, are interested in this question. The studies that we have conducted on this do not show that any one element is decisive. Undoubtedly, the love of a uniform and the romanticism identified with the officer profession plays a large part here. An equally strong motivational factor are family traditions. Each year many sons of professional soldiers take our examinations. But we also have a goodly number of cadets who made the decision to come to our school while they were performing their regular military service.

[Question] Was this a large group this year?

[Answer] This year 200 soldiers from the regular service received their grade registrations.

[Question] Does it happen that someone is exempted from the entrance examination because of very good secondary-school certificates?

[Answer] Of course, and very often. This year, for example, 32 candidates had exemplary certificates which guaranteed them a place in the school without having to take examinations.

[Question] Perhaps you would like to tell us, Colonel, what the social cross-section is of those beginning their officer-cadet studies?

[Answer] I must say with satisfaction that contrary to civilian schools we have no problems here and so we do not have to apply any preferences in relation to youth of workers' origin. And here again I will give you an example: 80 percent of the cadets are sons of workers. Twelve percent come from families of intellectuals, and only 7 percent of the youth are from the countryside.

[Question] What, aside from heavy, arduous military service does the school offer its cadets?

[Answer] Without a doubt the cadet studies are not easy, and in a physical sense also--high proficiency and resistance is indispensable--as well as in an intellectual sense. Great ability to master very extensive military, overall-social and technical knowledge is needed. However, for a person who deliberately decided on this type of study, the hardships that result can always be overcome. The best proof of this are the annual commencements, at which scores of young people, after 4 years of study, receive their officer's insignia.

[Question] Let me add from myself; the longed-for insignia. Several times I had occasion to talk about the Siedlce school, the front-lines predecessor of the present Mechanized Troop School. There the school prepared its officer cadre directly for the front, for the people's Armed Forces being formed. At that time the training lasted 3 months. Today other assignments await the graduates of the school.

[Answer] Yes, at our last commencement General of the Army Wojciech Jaruzelski, also a graduate of our school in the 1943 class, talked about this. He stressed that the young officers must use the knowledge that they gained here as skilfully as possible in command training and ideological training in line units, training and educating the defenders of the socialist fatherland and the adult citizens.

[Question] I attended this commencement and recall that the PZPR Central Committee first secretary in his speech very strongly emphasized the Polishness of Wroclaw, liberated during World War II by the Red Army, stressing the Piast past of this city. How much is the school connected with its city?

[Answer] Not quite 2 years after the war ended the school was transferred from Krakow to Wroclaw, a city horribly destroyed at that time by the war. From the first days of its stay in the capital of Lower Silesia the cadre and the cadets of the school were active in removing the rubble from the city and starting up its factories. On their free afternoons and Sundays the cadets went out into the streets and squares giving an example to others of their dedicated work in behalf of restoring life to the city. It should also be mentioned that in 1947 we were the second, after Wroclaw University, operating school in Wroclaw.

[Question] In visiting the school's facilities I saw that it is a modern scientific-teaching center.

[Answer] It cannot be otherwise. We want to prepare, as best as possible, command-engineers for work in units. Therefore, we must fulfill the program assigned to us at the highest possible level. Without abandoning the chalkboard or the firing range, we have added electronics and computers, commercial television and automation to the teaching process. Our pride is our integrated center for individual training, as well as training on the squad, platoon and company level; a center for engineering and chemical training, short-range tank combat, and conduct of battle in urbanized regions.

[Question] In addition to modern tanks and infantry combat vehicles there are also...horses at the school. Could this be a return to the romantic, cavalry traditions?

[Answer] That was not the purpose for which we created an equestrian center, the head of which is Col Romuald Soszynski, and the soul of which is an experienced artilleryman, Sgt Maj (cavalry reserve) Roman Sidorczyk. Horsemanship is excellent proficiency training. And so every cadet goes through a 30-hour course of riding on a mount, under the eye of experienced instructors led by Piotr Tokarski (master's degree).

[Question] I know that the leading equestrian unit in Wroclaw is at this school.

[Answer] Our unit, composed of school students, is already known throughout the entire country. It also takes part in international competitions, and holds its own in the rankings.

[Question] Let us add it up: during the 4 years of study the future second lieutenant-engineer, aside from knowledge that is strictly specialized, has an opportunity also to become a paratrooper...

[Answer] - ...skier, passenger-vehicle and truck driver, tank and armored transport driver, and in an exceptional case, also a holder of a master's degree in physical education.

[Question] In what way?

[Answer] We make it possible for those candidates who selected physical education as their area of study to take the entrance examinations for the Physical Education Academy. If they pass them while they are officer-cadets in our school, they are, at the same time, fulfilling the Physical Education Academy program. Our experience has shown that unfortunately not all of them are able to cope with the doubled duties. But many of our students receive master's degrees at the Physical Education Academy.

[Question] The Wroclaw Mechanized Troop School is not just a modern scientific-teaching center, but it is also a vital center of cultural life.

[Answer] That is true. It is the concern of the school command that all cadets be provided the best conditions not only for learning, but also for creative, cultural rest. The cadet clubs, which are very imaginatively and functionally equipped, are a good facility for cultural and artistic activity. The most diverse talents are revealed there, persons active in the "Theater of Poetry," known throughout all of Poland, come from those clubs. In addition, there are all kinds of special-interest clubs and cadet scientific clubs to which persons interested in specific engineering, historical or sociopolitical disciplines belong.

[Question] From my own experience I know that each year the school observes Cadet Day very ceremoniously. Our conversation today, conducted precisely on this occasion, will be, I believe, a good opportunity to name the better teachers and educators of the officer-cadet generations.

[Answer] I will do so with the great pleasure, not concealing the fact that I am in deep trouble because we could without difficulty fill an entire column of your weekly with the names of our leading officers. The most senior and most experienced include: Col (dr, asst prof) Tadeusz Janiszewski; Col (master's degree) Wlodzimierz Potoka; and Lt Col (engr) Bohdan Grobelny. Those of less seniority but distinguished in the teaching cadre include: Col (asst prof, dr hab) Ryszard Majewski; Col (acad grad) Bronislaw Pirog; Lt Col (master's degree) Eugeniusz Ucinski; Lt Col (acad grad) Roman Demichowicz; and Maj (acad grad) Kazimierz Bogacz. In the command section: Maj (acad grad) Henryk Bogdanowicz; Capt (engr) Jan Deja; and 2nd Lt (engr) Bogdan Horbacz.

[Question] Very frequently the school which you represent, Colonel, is referred to as the "School of Generals." Why this description?

[Answer] Because of the simple fact that from among our graduates about 50 have already received their general's epaulettes. They include the Minister of National Defense and three deputy ministers of national defense.

[Question] Together with the entire Armed Forces the school has entered into the next 40 years. With what kind of aspirations and aims?

[Answer] The same important task always faces us: how to best prepare command cadre for service in the line units. Thus not even for a moment can we permit ourselves to slow down the rate of expansion and modernization or reduce the scientific-research activity on developing the most effective forms and methods of training. We want to improve our teaching process to such a degree that our graduates will not only be able to command and educate their subordinates capably but will also know how to think creatively and involve themselves in social and political activity.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview, and on behalf of the readers of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI I wish you complete fulfillment of the plans outlined for the school.

9295

CSO: 2600/534

BRIEFS

GDR AGRICULTURE MINISTER VISITS--A delegation from the GDR headed by Peter Findeis, minister of agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs, visited Warsaw on 11 January. Polish-GDR talks were held in the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Economy on tasks involved in the further development of scientific and technical cooperation between both countries. At the end of the talks a protocol, was signed defining the ways of making better mutual use of each country's agricultural experience. The protocol was signed by Kazimierz Grzesiak, undersecretary of state of agriculture and the food economy, for Poland and by P. Findeis for the GDR. Later in the day, P. Findeis was received by Stanislaw Zieba, minister of agriculture and the food economy. [Summary] [AU212055 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 84 p 5]

THREE NEW TRADE UNIONS--The following trade unions at above-factory level were registered by the Warsaw Voivodship Court on 11 January: The Federation of Independent, Self-Managing Trade Unions of Employees of the Polish National Bank; the Federation of Trade Unions of Seamen; and the Federation of Trade Unions of Employees in the Tobacco Industry. [Summary] [AU212055 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Jan 84 p 4]

TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP FIGURE--Over 3.8 million people have joined the new trade unions so far. They are mostly people directly involved in production. The Voivodship Court in Warsaw has so far registered 66 national trade unions. [Summary] [AU212055 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 17 Jan 84 p 1]

OPINION POLL RESULTS--The results of the Public Opinion Research Center's recent poll on how much Polish people know about world affairs, international politics and the way they assess these things, paint a good picture of Polish society. About two-thirds of society is aware of the source of the threat to world peace as well as the scale of the effects of a conflict, should it arise. Most Poles do not expect international relations to improve, although 6 percent minority of Poles regard the current world tension as boding well for the future. Barely 4 percent regard the military and peace policies of the United States as right, while 49 percent regard the policy pursued by the Soviet Union as peaceful and justified. However, there is a striking percentage of people (47 percent) who have no formed opinion on the matter. A total of 96 percent of Poles regard the policies of the U.S. Government as unfavorable for world peace. Another result of the poll was that Polish citizens regard the PPR GOVERNMENT's foreign policy as aimed at defending peace. Some 68 percent of the Poll's participants gave a straight "yes" to this question. Another outcome of poll's results is that there is a need to broaden our reporting on world politics, that is, reporting hard facts, events and trends. [Summary] [AU212055 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 16 Jan 84 p 3]

OLSZOWSKI ATTENDS WLOCLAWEK CONFERENCE--The Wloclawek Party Voivodship report-back and electoral conference was attended today by more than 300 delegates elected during [words indistinct] meetings of the 32,000-strong party organization. Participating in the conference were Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, Stefan Olszowski; deputy speaker of the Sejm, Zbigniew Gertych; and director of the Sejm affairs bureau of the party Central Committee, Edward Szymanski. The delegates to the conference decided to first conduct the election of the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee and then the remaining party voivodship authorities and statute commission members. Following his nomination by Politburo member Stefan Olszowski and by his parent party organization at the nitrogen plant, the delegates, by secret ballot, reelected Krystian Luczak first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. The basic directional trends of activity by the Wloclawek Party organization for 1984-85 were defined during the conference. [Excerpts] [LD142343 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 14 Jan 84]

CSO: 2600/570

LEGAL, POLITICAL SYSTEM DISCUSSED AT NIS MEETING

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 83 pp 7-9

[Article by Momcilo Djorgovic: "The Blindfolded Eyes of the Law; Language of Officialdom Adept at Being Obscure"]

[Excerpts] At a press conference held at the Belgrade Committee of the LCY, prominent political scientists, speaking for the organizers of the conference (the Federation of Societies for Political Science of Yugoslavia, the University of Nis, in collaboration with the Marxist Center for the City of Belgrade and the Archives for Legal and Social Sciences), made an open invitation to all journalists to a conference entitled "Marxism and Law in Socialism" (24-25 November), in Nis.

As a part of the overall theme, they said, the desire, and even the urgent need, to talk about some very "hot" topics, and some others also worthy of attention, resulted in a program. Some of the topics are: the sad state of the legal sciences, being subjected to vulgarized law (law as an instrument of current policy), the misuse of the regulatory power of the state, the mania for decrees, the breakdown of laws and the erosion of authority, and non-Marxist legal concepts in our country. All of this was emphasized in the authoritative tone of professionals who see farther and better [than laymen]. The only thing left to do was to make all of this more explicit for us using specific examples.

Indeed, could one have really expected that such assertions and diagnoses would go no farther than to remain in the realm of neutral, and ultimately peaceful, generalities? A threatened legal system is most certainly a step towards the breakdown of the community (whether anarchistic or bureaucratic), and those heralding the danger are also obliged to pinpoint it. A legal crisis is, of course, one of the most dangerous crises, just as an economic crisis would be.

But in Nis we were met with the kind of verbal indulgences one meets at practically all levels of social-political and scholarly life--the kind of language used by officialdom which is adept at being obscure. And they conferred by monologue and by articles, with the marvelous scholastic ability to remain, in spite of long and exhausting discourse, in the realm of empty generalizations (my respects to the exceptions). It would seem

normal, when dealing with such a strongly defined theme, that we would meet there with lawyers (from social-political communities, work organizations, courts of all types, the prosecutor's office, the Union of Jurists Associations, the inspectorate); however, at the meeting one went from professor to professor. Some went bravely into a description of legal pathology, but ultimately only to those limits which disturbed one's conscience and aroused a state of general suspicion, and then left one disoriented. Which made one expect specific examples all the more. And we were sure that they had them because we were dealing with people who would not speak without specific proof to back up their claims. The thought that perhaps they were afraid to do this provoked real uneasiness. It was interesting that the majority of their colleagues were not provoked into making some sort of reaction. In a rather lifeless manner they stuck to a "program of work-consultation," they rehashed their articles which had been prepared in advance, either going into more detail or condensing them. In actuality they gave each other lectures from material which they have all mastered long ago and which represented the cognitive and informative minimum of professional edification.

But let us look at what these conference participants were talking about, those who had not drawn their material out of textbooks. Among them, those with the most acuity were Najdan Pasic and Mijat Sukovic.

Servant of Policy

Dr Pasic, without any sort of apology, claimed that law in our country is the servant (ancilla) of policy, and that any sort of independence it has is not worth much. In his opinion, law cannot be forced into an essentially precise but simplified and ideologized formula, which interprets it as "the will of the governing class raised to the level of law." Jovan Djordjevic concluded that law in socialism cannot be an ideological facade, or an alibi for volunteerism. And Vojislav Stanovcic observed that the conflict of political will and law is ancient, and that it is in the nature of politics to increase its power and to rationalize its goals by using the law.

Djordjevic, Pasic, and Stanovcic claimed that there are echoes from the Marxist vulgate in our legal system, actually from that rule which has been preserved that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the leading force in socialism. Fine, but who leads it? Can it be accepted unreservedly that this is automatically done by politicians? And that one can conceal, as Pasic asserts, in the decisionmaking process "in the name of working class interests," abuses, manipulations, law as a mask for volunteerism? Stanovcic noted that law in Marxist theory is understood as social epiphenomenon, and that "our lawyers are taught that law is examined from within as a hierarchy of the norm, without critical distance, it is seen only as will, and not as ethics." This did not greatly surprise the experienced Jovan Djordjevic because he thinks that we are in a phase of early socialism, when the statist culture is strongly present along with formalized self-management.

Dangerous Use of Arms

Dangerous Use of Arms

Pasic reminded us that the enforcing faculty of the state is the powerful, but also dangerous, use of arms, and that it is very important to find out how arms are being used. Every victorious class rushes to use the enforcing power to the maximum extent, and to change social relationships in the desired direction. However, this also gives rise to dangerous bureaucratic intentions. "The working class must rely on political crutches until basic production relationships begin to be developed, but they can also become political shackles and class can become their captive," warned our eminent political scientist and the president of the Serbian Constitutional Court. He also reminded us of the fine line of the relationship between the regulatory and the real. That is, changes can be shaped and hastened to some extent with regulations, but the regulations cannot create desired social relationships, "and it is rare that anyone avoids this mania." The next thing that happens is that political factions wind up in a battle with objective social relations at a very high price. To remind us how great the price can be, the great Pasic took us all the way to China and gave the example of the Great Leap Forward.

What we have long been aware of was noted at the meeting--that we are having an inflation of regulations and statutes. Pasic saw in this the presence of the illusion that everything can be solved by the state. And this is only an illusion, because it is actually this influx that destroys the authority of laws and the authority of the state, normally. Violation of the law demands an enormous legal apparatus and narrows the activity of the working class. Pasic refined this position even more: "An over-sized legal-governmental order becomes the means for guardianship over the working class, and associated labor is placed in a real dependence on the centers of political power." This position probably corresponds to reality, but the important thing is to explain, seek out, and announce all these modes of dependence. In general terms, the remark is worth little.

Only that legal system is effective which fulfills at least three conditions--that it be consistent, that it regulate what is necessary, and what it is given to regulate, and that it rely on a creative instrument of execution, and this means that the execution itself is regulated. "None of these demands," says Pasic, "have been adequately developed in our country. Legal space is polluted with regulations which have no direct function or application. It falls prey to a great extent to the evaluation of political utility, which is counter to the meaning of the Constitution." Mijat Sukovic often called on the words of Professor Pasic in his presentation, completely agreeing with him, and he decided to be as specific as possible. He noted that the widespread lack of execution of laws threatens the security and freedom of people, and that the interface of such concurrent events is both imperative and legal, both political and cultural. Moreover, an extraordinarily great interdependence between the political situation and the poor state of the legal situation exists. "The simple execution of laws is no longer in question, but basic constituent determinations are coming into question. The moral vanguard is in question," stated Sukovic.

Differences

Sukovic noted great differences in the execution of laws. While republic law, opstina regulations, are carried out enthusiastically ("Perhaps it would be better to be not so enthusiastic here"), those which concern the whole somehow are left hanging. A special relaxation in the execution of laws in the area of social property, labor, and the results of labor, and from the economic sphere, have been noticed.

According to Sukovic's studies, what is responsible for the illegal behavior are factors which are part of the system, part of the state structure. State power is really abused when these factors cause laws in given relationships to go unexecuted at a certain place and a certain time. Components of the state structure team up with political structures in order to maintain a monopoly in their social-political communities. And thus they abstain from performing functions they are obliged to perform, and they tolerate the illegal conduct of banks and the Public Auditing Service, and limit the judicial organs. In this protection of illegal conduct, informal political activity is expressed, and all of this becomes a virtue in cadre dispositions.

Sukovic saw the main inadequacies of the legal system not so much in the quantity of regulations (if there were fewer of them we would still have the same problems), but in their quality. And their inadequacies focus on the establishing of laws and responsibilities, but not guaranteeing the instruments for their execution as well.

Then there are inadequacies in the mistaken interpretation of the constitutional principle of self-management independence (the social-political communities as a divided whole). The result is that we have many who are powerful in society, but the community is not powerful. And finally, Sukovic thought that relationships are created in which neither a vertical nor a horizontal functional connection exists. The system as a whole does not function, is completely devoid of unity.

Constitutional Changes (Miodrag Jovicic)

In socialist Yugoslavia, three complete constitutions have been passed up to now--those of 1946, 1963, and 1974. However, each of these constitutions has undergone significant changes while they were binding: the constitution of 1946 was changed through the constitutional law concerning the foundations for the social and political structure of 1953, the constitution of 1963 was changed through three groups of amendments (a total of 42), adopted in 1967, 1968, and 1971, and finally, the one now in effect, the constitution of 1974, through constitutional amendments (8 of them) adopted in 1981. From the above statements one can conclude that constitutional law material in Yugoslavia is characterized by a significantly dynamic process, or relatively frequent changes in the Constitution.

The reasons influencing the frequent changes in the Constitution can be reduced to two basic ones.

a) In countries which build socialism according to hypotheses, the need for changes and supplements, even for changing the Constitution, frequently appears. Thus, as one of these countries, Yugoslavia is also subject to this general law. However, Yugoslavia is set apart from this group of countries by a number of unique characteristics of its social and state structure.

In the case of the Yugoslav Constitution, it is necessary to stress the very important fact that the level of its performance did not influence its change. Moreover, it is characteristic of the Yugoslav Constitution that beginning with the first Constitution of 1946 and proceeding to the present one of 1974, each new constitution provided for an ever greater degree of permanence. The path that was taken in this regard was a very long one. The first constitution, composed in 1946, could be changed very easily by a decision of the absolute majority of the members of the two houses of the Federal Parliament. With time, the conditions for changing the Constitution were made more difficult on several occasions, so that now, after the constitution of 1974, changing it requires a decision of a two-thirds majority of all the delegates in the Federal Council of the Parliament of the SFRY, and the agreement of the parliament of all republics and autonomous provinces.

This increase in the level of permanence of the Constitution can, I think, be explained by the effects of two factors. One factor, of a general nature, is the provision of a guarantee that changing the Constitution will not be undertaken easily; this is an expression of the deeper respect towards the Constitution as the basic law of the land, and one of the elements which contributes to the stabilization of the principle of constitutionality. The second factor, and probably the more important one in recent times, is the increase in the use of the federal principle in Yugoslavia. It is well known that the constitutions of the federation are distinguished, as a rule, by a greater degree of permanence; this is imposed because of the fact that position and jurisdictions, not only of the federation, but also of federal units, are fixed by them. The permanence of the Federal Constitution is often expressed by the requirement that not only the house of the Federal Parliament in which representatives of the federal units are sitting agrees with the change in the Constitution, but also a determined majority of the parliaments of the federal units, or, their citizens in a referendum. The development of Yugoslav federalism in this regard has led to the introduction of the requirement that the highest organs of all members of the Yugoslav federation must agree with the change in the Constitution, and in this way necessity for a general consensus for future changes in this or any Constitution has been emphasized to the maximum extent, because the disagreement of only one republic or province with a proposed change in the Federal Constitution would have the character of a veto.

It is obvious, however, here as well as elsewhere, that it is necessary to distinguish between constitutional texts on the one hand and practice on the other, or between the formal level of permanence of the Constitution and the actual implementation of changes in the Constitution in practice. The former practice of changing Yugoslav constitutions indicates that, regardless of the degree of permanence provided for by the Constitution itself, these changes in the case of necessity are attempted quite often, relatively speaking, and that they have been carried out without major difficulties.